

Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics

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the bitterness of poverty was now regarded as the first duty of the State. The fashion of bestowing this world's goods for the benefit of those who had little of them affected widely those in whom the love of notoriety was the strongest motive. But many inscriptions attest the practice of beneficence in its purest shapes. The *Corpus Inscriptionum* supplies the best corrective to Juvenal's envenomed account of the relations existing in his time between rich and poor. Among motives which prompted benefactions, the desire to perpetuate the memory of the beloved dead was, as in our time, not infrequent. These benefactions take different directions; they provide for many material advantages, such as food and clothing, wine and oil; more rarely for education or for medical aid; very frequently for the nurture of free-born boys and girls. We must not forget that for one inscription recording such liberality, which has come down to our time, a hundred may have perished, and for one charitable action originally recorded, a thousand may have been carried out without record. The range of practical benevolence in the early centuries of the Roman Empire has rarely, if ever, been realized by historians.

The foundations known by the generic term *alimenta* are attested by inscriptions more numerous and important than any others. The decline of population in Italy led to many private, as well as public, efforts to arrest the evil. In the age of Augustus, who established permanently the famous *ius trium liberorum* (of which a rudimentary form had appeared in the legislation of Philip V. of Macedon, and in Caesar's agrarian law of 59 B.C.), a citizen of Atina in the Volscian country gave property, the revenues of which were to be distributed to the poor, as inducements to rear children, instead of exposing them, according to the horrible Roman custom, or selling them, a proceeding legalized in extreme cases even by Constantine (*CIL* x. 5056). A coin of the Emperor Nerva, of the date A.D. 97, commemorates a similar act of generosity on the part of that Emperor. Nerva, seated on his chair of state, points with his right hand to a young boy and young girl, while a female figure representing Italy stands between them. The inscription is 'tutela Italiae,' which avers that the Emperor protects Italy's future by providing for a succession of free citizens. Nerva's liberality was greatly extended by Trajan, on the same lines. A well-known relief discovered in the Forum in 1872 gives a vivid presentation of the Emperor's generosity. Two inscriptions, one from Veleia, in the valley of the Po, the other from the neighbourhood of Beneventum, give some details of the Imperial foundation, which seems to have benefited every district of Italy (*CIL* xi. 1114,

ix. 1457). Another inscription describes Trajan as having thus taken thought for 'the eternity of Italy,' and some of his coins bear the legend 'Italia restituta.' We know that the example set by Nerva and Trajan was followed by Hadrian, by Antoninus Pius, whose wife Faustina gave her name to girls who were beneficiaries ('puellae Faustinae'), by Marcus Aurelius, and by Alexander Severus. (The reliefs in the Villa Albani at Rome, picturing the *puellae Faustinae*, are familiar to every visitor who is interested in the Imperial history.) But by the time of Constantine these foundations had been swept away, mainly by the civil commotions. It is of interest to note that the children who benefited were not massed together in orphanages, but were left in the hands of their parents. Supervision was exercised by officials of the municipalities, who administered the revenues, which were charged on land. Even private benefactions of the kind were naturally entrusted, in accordance with the Roman temperament, to municipal authorities. Doubtless the desire of Nerva in authorizing local corporations to accept inheritances and legacies, was to encourage rich private persons to imitate his example. Unfortunately the decay of the municipalities involved the ruin of the foundations also. Pliny the Younger gives us in one of his letters an interesting account of his own liberality to Comum, his native town (*Ep.* vii. 18). There is reason to believe that many such foundations were established by citizens not only inside, but outside Italy. Sometimes alimentary as well as other benefactions were attached to the *collegia* or gilds (see art. GILDS [Roman]). In connexion with these gilds, it must be mentioned here that they were not, in themselves, charitable institutions, though, indirectly and incidentally, they did much to soften the hardships of poverty, and even of slavery.

The common idea, therefore, that charity as a duty was not recognized in the ancient world is mistaken. But, of course, benevolence received an infinitely stronger, purer, and more universal impulse when Christianity prevailed. The famous forty-ninth letter of the Emperor Julian is proof that the best men of the heathen world keenly felt the superiority of Christian as compared with non-Christian beneficence. See also CHARITY (Christian).

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CHARMS AND AMULETS.

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CHARMS AND AMULETS (Introductory and Primitive).—An *amulet* is a material object worn or carried on the person, or preserved in

some other way, for magico-religious reasons, e.g. to cure disease, to give strength, 'luck,' or general protection to the possessor, or to defend

him or her from specified dangers or misfortunes.

A *charm* (*carmen*) is, properly speaking, a magical formula which is sung or recited to bring about some result conceived as beneficial, *e.g.* to confer magical efficacy on an amulet for the cure of disease. But in popular English usage the same word is used to describe the incantation and the object which is 'charmed' for magical use. Thus, a 'wise woman' undertaking the cure of a case of fever might enclose a spider in a nutshell, 'charm' it by reciting a 'charm' (formula), and finally hang the 'charm' (material object) by a thread round the patient's neck, prescribing the period for which it should be worn. Again, written copies of charms (formulae) are very commonly carried for luck or protection.

This article will deal with the uses of the material objects above described, which, to avoid confusion, will be called *amulets*. See, further, MAGIC.

A. C. Haddon (*Magic and Fetishism*, 1906, p. 29) makes a further distinction between *talismans* worn for good luck or to transmit qualities, and *amulets*, which are preventive in their action; but, as will be seen, the application of all these names is exceedingly elastic.

The use of amulets is almost universal among savage and semi-civilized peoples, and among the less educated classes in civilized countries. Not only are they worn by men and women on their persons in the form of necklets, girdles, bracelets, or anklets, and attached to these as pendants, carried in bags or pockets, and sewn to clothing; they are also attached to children and domesticated animals, affixed to buildings, household furniture, tools, and weapons, and placed near fruit-trees and growing crops. In Europe the use of amulets is most strongly developed in the Mediterranean countries (including Syria and North Africa), where it co-exists with various 'survivals' of non-Christian religious belief and practice; but it would probably be incorrect to treat the use of amulets as a merely traditional survival of paganism. On the contrary, there is reason to think that it represents a universal tendency in human nature, which is always likely to reach practical expression if not checked by other tendencies. Of these controlling factors education seems to be the most important. Where belief in witchcraft or in the evil eye is strong, there is always a corresponding development of protective amulets. Again, in all countries the members of certain classes whose occupation involves a degree of social isolation tend to develop, or perhaps merely to preserve, a more intensive use of amulets: in Europe and India this tendency has been observed in fishermen, shepherds, miners, sailors, hunters, actors, jockeys, beggars, gypsies, and the criminal and immoral classes; in uncivilized societies, our present knowledge of professional specialization is too imperfect to permit of any generalization.

In spite of certain differences (arising out of local variation in the supply of materials, the general level of native art, and the pressure of local needs) there is a general resemblance in the types and applications of amulets in every age and country. The following classes of objects, natural and artificial, are very commonly used: stones (especially those of a curious shape or naturally perforated), stone implements (celts and arrow-heads); curious vegetable growths, roots, leaves, seeds, nuts; horns, teeth, claws, and other parts of animals and insects, shells, human hair and teeth, relics of the dead; medicinal substances; substances believed to have been extracted from the sick in magical cures; iron, gold, silver, rock-crystal, alum, salt, coral; red, blue, and white things; strings, threads, and rings; representations of human and animal forms, phallic emblems,

representations of eyes, hands, horns, and crescents; beads, imported ornaments; written charms, quotations from sacred writings, inscribed objects, medals, coins; obsolete weapons and ornaments; relics and mementoes of holy persons and places, portions of offerings, and dedicated things.

The purposes for which amulets are used may also be classed under certain common types, such as the cure and prevention of disease; protection in general, and from specific dangers (*e.g.* death in battle, wounds, drowning, shipwreck, lightning, failure of crops, attacks by dangerous animals, evil spirits, witchcraft, the evil eye); the acquisition of physical strength, fertility, 'luck,' wealth, magical powers; and the fulfilment of special wishes, *e.g.* for success in hunting, fishing, trade, love, and war.

Anthropological attempts to explain the use of amulets fall into two chronological groups, of which the earlier is connected with the general theory of magic put forward by E. B. Tylor (*Early Hist. of Mankind*, 1865, ²1870, ³1878; *Primitive Culture*, 1871, ²1873, ³1891, ⁴1903), and developed by J. G. Frazer (*GB²*, 1900; *Lect. on the Early Hist. of the Kingship*, 1905). For a discussion of this, see art. MAGIC; here it need only be said that the belief in magic, according to Frazer (*Kingship*, 52), depends on 'a misapplication of the association of ideas by similarity and contiguity.'

'Manifold as are the applications of this crude philosophy . . . the fundamental principles on which it is based would seem to be reducible to two; first, that like produces like, or that an effect resembles its cause; and second, that things which have once been in contact, but have ceased to be so, continue to act on each other as if the contact still persisted' (*GB²* i. 9).

By this explanation of magic, attention is concentrated on certain logical errors said to be characteristic of the thought of uncivilized or uneducated man. The savage, as Tylor has frequently said, is apt to mistake the subjective connexion set up by the association of ideas in the mind for an objective or causal connexion; to believe, for instance, that a stone which resembles an eye must have some occult effect on the human eyesight, or that the courage and keen sight of the eagle can be secured along with a tuft of its feathers (*Early Hist. of Mankind³*, 131). These logical errors are exemplified in the savage and popular use of amulets, the following cases being typical:

The 'desert goat' (*Nemorhædus Suettenhami*) is the most surefooted animal known to the Malays of the Lower Siamese States; and they believe that if it falls over a cliff it immediately licks itself whole. Accordingly, the tongue of the desert goat is carried as a powerful amulet against falling, and also as a sure cure for wounds caused by falling if rubbed on the part affected; and a rib of it is used to tap or rub any bruises or cuts in order to make them heal (MS Catalogus Annandale Collection, Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford, 1901-2, no. 24). Again, the Dutch in South Africa hang strings of greyish seeds, which they call *tande kraale* ('teeth beads'), round the necks of their children to help them in teething. 'Such notions were elaborated into the old medical theory known as the "Doctrine of Signatures," which supposed that plants and minerals indicated by their external characters the diseases for which nature had intended them as remedies. Thus the Euphrasia or eyebright was, and is, supposed to be good for the eyes, on the strength of a black pupil-like spot in its corolla, the yellow turmeric was thought good for jaundice, and the blood-stone is probably used to this day for stopping blood' (Tylor, *Early Hist. of Mankind³*, 123).

Explanations of this sort may be used, more or less legitimately, to cover many specialized uses of amulets. But there are other types to which they do not apply; nor are they sufficient, in themselves, to account for the practice of using amulets as a whole. To do this, it is necessary to follow up a second line of inquiry, which has been pursued in France by Hubert and Mauss ('Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie,' *ASoc* vii. [1904]); in America by Miss A. C. Fletcher (various works), Hewitt ('*Orenda* and a Definition of Religion,' *American Anthropologist*, new ser., iv.

33-35), and Lovejoy ('The Fundamental Concept of the Savage Philosophy,' *Monist*, xvi. 357-382); in England chiefly by R. R. Marett (*The Threshold of Religion* [essays dated 1900-1909], London, 1909), and E. S. Hartland (Presidential Address, section H, British Assoc., York, 1906). According to this later theory, the explanation of the savage belief in magic is to be sought not in savage errors of logic, but in the savage's conception of magical power or efficacy. Evidence for this conception has been found in the vocabularies of many uncivilized peoples, in the existence of a class of words of which *mana*, the Polynesian-Melanesian expression for 'mysterious or supernatural efficacy,' has been generally accepted as typical (see MAGIC).

'This is what works to effect everything which is beyond the ordinary power of men, outside the common processes of nature; it is present in the atmosphere of life, attaches itself to persons and to things, and is manifested by results which can only be ascribed to its operation.' This *mana* is not fixed in anything, and can be conveyed in almost anything; but spirits, whether disembodied souls, or supernatural beings, have it and can impart it; and it essentially belongs to personal beings to originate it, though it may act through the medium of water or a stone or a bone (Codrington, *The Melanesians*, 1891, p. 118 f.). 'Among many uncultured races the chief concern of the individual is to absorb as much of this force or to get into his possession as many objects charged with it as possible' (Lovejoy, *op. cit.* 380).

It is in such conceptions of magical efficacy (*mana*), explicit or implicit in uncivilized and uneducated thought, that the most comprehensive explanation of the use of amulets is to be found. All amulets have at least this in common, that they are credited by their possessors with a quality, virtue, or efficacy which makes them valuable; without which, in fact, they would not be amulets at all. It has been shown above that they are of various forms and materials; how do they come to be regarded as having *mana*? Primarily, because they have attracted attention; like human beings of striking personality, they have detached themselves from the vague undifferentiated background of the uninteresting, and impressed themselves upon the eye and upon the mind. As soon as an object has proved attractive enough to make a man carry it away with him, it is on the way to becoming an amulet. It is not so much that amulets are kept and carried because they have *mana*, as that they have *mana* because they are kept and carried.

From an examination of the amulets which are actually used, it is possible to see what it is that qualifies an object for this sort of selective attention. Generally speaking, it must be small, portable, and not fixed to its place of origin. If a small stone of remarkable shape catches a man's attention, he carries it away with him, and it is likely to become an amulet; whereas, if it is large, he will more probably observe it whenever he passes, invent a myth to account for its peculiarities, and perhaps set up a habit of visits and offerings. The magical object, then, must be portable and detachable, and it is especially attractive if it is capable of being strung or tied to a string. Stones form a test case for this simplest type of amulet. In many parts of the world they excite a peculiar interest (Marett, *op. cit.* 19 ff.), and if they have any singularity in shape or colour they are sure to attract attention. In British Guiana a natural hollow concretion with a loose stone rattling inside is shaken by the Arawak magician to relieve the pains of childbirth. In Italy madreporite is worn as a protection against sickness and against witches, serpentine for the prevention and cure of snake-bite, limonite to protect pregnant women. In the Eastern Island of Torres Straits smooth water-worn pebbles are used as *omabar*, 'love-charms' (Haddon, *Reports of the Camb. Anthropol. Exped. to Torres Straits*, vi. [1908] 221, and pl. xxi.). Naturally perforated stones are

specially attractive, being curious, portable, and easy to preserve. In Ireland, for example, they are hung round the cattle-byre or on the stakes to which cows are tethered, 'to keep evil from the cows,' 'to keep pixies from stealing the milk,' or 'for luck.' English peasants (Wiltshire, Hertfordshire, etc.) and Scotch fishermen hang them at the house door 'to keep away witches.'

Vegetable growths which present any abnormality are valued in the same way. In Italy double walnuts and almonds are carried as amulets against the evil eye and witches, against headache, and to bring good luck. In the Lower Siamese States a branch of unusual shape is hung over the hearth; 'spirits are afraid of it'; and the knotted stem of a creeper is hung over the house door to keep out *pölöng*, 'familiar spirits' (MS Cat. Annandale Coll., Pitt-Rivers Mus., Oxford, 1901-2, nos. 236, 244). The tumour-like detachable growths sometimes found embedded in the trunks of oaks are carried by Surrey labourers as 'cramp balls' to ward off cramp.

Most attractive of all are stones and other natural objects in which a resemblance may be traced to something of another kind. Thus, flint nodules resembling shells were preserved in a pre-dynastic Egyptian tomb at el-Amrah. The mandrake and the ginseng root are credited with wide and undefined powers in Asia and Eastern Europe because of their fancied resemblance, generally improved by art, to a human being (Tylor, *Early Hist. of Mankind*, 123). In a Malay house in Lower Siam a natural growth of wood resembling a bird was hung up for use as a clothes peg, but also to bring luck; and powder scraped from it was administered to children suffering from internal parasites: it was called *kayu-jadiburong*, 'wood become bird' (MS Cat. Annandale Coll., no. 239).

Another claim to attention lies in any sort of paradoxical or abnormal quality in things. For instance, a chank shell is sometimes found with the whorls turning the reverse way; in Southern India such a specimen is regarded as a magical and fortunate possession (Walhouse, *JAI* xvi. 164). Catlin describes the mantle of a medicine-man of the Blackfeet, on Yellowstone River, 1833-40, as follows:

'Besides the skin of the yellow bear (which, being almost an anomaly in that country, is out of the regular order of nature, and, of course, *great medicine*, and converted to a medicine use), there are attached to it the skins of many animals which are also anomalies or deformities, which render them, in their estimation, *medicine*; and there are also the skins of snakes and frogs and bats—bears and toes and tails of birds—hoofs of deer, goats, and antelopes; and, in fact, the "odds and ends," and tag-ends, and tails, and tips of almost everything that swims, flies, or runs, in this part of the great world' (*N. Amer. Indians*, Edinburgh, 1903, i. 48, and pl. 19).

Mere rarity is also valued (see Hubert and Mauss, *ASoc* vii. 102). Nodules of very compact black stone are occasionally found embedded in a coal seam; one such 'coal-nut' was kept by three generations of miners at Pendleton, Lancashire, as their most treasured possession; they considered that it protected them from accident, nor would they venture down a mine without it. By an extension of this desire for rarities, many amulets are supposed to have been obtained in some impossible way or from some mythical animal. In English folk-lore, fern-seed, if it could be found, would confer invisibility on the possessor. In Epirus it is said that, if a man boils eagles' eggs and puts them back in the nest, the eagle will fly to the Jordan, fetch a pebble, and put it in the nest to assist incubation. The man secures this pebble, which is called a 'stone of loosing,' and serves to cure diseases, especially the effects of the evil eye. Stones purporting to have been obtained in this way are actually carried

(Papacostas, *Man*, 1904, no. 81). A native of Kachal, Nicobar Islands, carried a ring about 1½ inches in diameter, of a bone-like substance, and told a story about it of some large jungle-dwelling animal from whose eye or eye-socket it was made: 'it was bigger than a pig, and very scarce'; further than that he was not intelligent enough to give a description (C. Boden Kloss, *In the Andamans and Nicobars*, 1903, p. 111). In India and Japan certain transparent pebbles are said to have fallen from the heads of cremated corpses or of snakes.

Pre-historic stone implements are popular as amulets wherever they are found; their history being unknown, and the finding of them usually sudden and accidental, they are believed to be of supernatural origin—either fallen from the sky, or the work of mythical beings (J. Evans, *Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*, London, 1897, pp. 56–65). In most countries they are said to be 'thunderbolts,' and are therefore kept to preserve people, cattle, and buildings from lightning. They are also used to effect magical cures; water poured over neolithic celts and arrowheads is given to cows in Ireland to cure the 'grup'; in Italy they are hung round children's necks to keep away illness and the evil eye; the Malays carry them as lucky objects to sharpen their crises and cockspurs, and as touchstones for gold. In Arabia, amulet-necklets of arrowheads are used, and manufactured arrow-shaped pendants of cornelian, agate, and glass are worn as 'good for the blood,' and exported from Mecca to south-eastern Europe. Similarly, natural pebbles resembling celts or arrowheads, and manufactured pendants of the same shape, are worn as amulets, e.g. at Lozère (France), to facilitate childbirth. Other substances found in the ground are similarly prized: belemnites, called 'thunder-stones' in France, Germany, and England, are powdered and given as medicine; staurolites (silicate of baryta and alumina) are valued by Breton peasants for their cruciform shape, and credited with supernatural origin and powers. Nodules of iron pyrites are often called 'thunderbolts,' e.g. in Switzerland, and are kept to protect houses from lightning. Antique beads found in the soil are valued in Europe, India, and West Africa as amulets for the cure and prevention of disease. Rock-crystal attracts attention wherever it is found; and alum seems to be a substitute for it in Persia and the Mediterranean countries. The metals, and iron in particular, are in almost universal estimation, partly from the difficulty of obtaining them, and partly from the traditional mystery of the smith's craft (cf. 'Indian' section of this art.).

But, apart from such special claims, it seems that any object which is small, complete in itself, definite, of homogeneous material, portable, and tolerably durable, which attracts attention, and can be taken as a personal possession, is likely to be treasured, and credited with unusual qualities simply in virtue of the attention it has excited. It remains to show how this idea of magical efficacy is developed.

First, the mere keeping of a small object for any length of time is enough to invest it with a special interest. If it is lost after it has become familiar, there is a considerable amount of mental discomfort, which may easily become associated with other misfortunes happening about the same time; and, by contrast, past prosperity will be associated with the possession of it. Ornaments habitually worn become linked with daily tasks, with mental effort, especially with exertions of eloquence; the loss of them may therefore be accompanied by a sensation of loss of power. Again, conspicuous ornaments or objects constantly carried become associated with the wearer's personality in the

minds of other people; if he is remarkable for eloquence, shrewdness, or success, the existence of his 'mascot' or 'luck' is a convenient tangible circumstance which concentrates the attention of minds not much accustomed to analyze their impressions, and serves as an easy 'explanation.' The great man is not unlikely to be said to derive *mana* from the very object on which, in fact, he confers it.

But, further, when a man carries about with him some object which has caught his attention, he is generally obliged to justify his liking for it, to himself if not to others. 'What good is it to you? What do you keep it for?' In many cases the resemblance to something else, by which the object first attracted him, suggests an answer. Thus, the Melanesians, who value any stone of peculiar appearance, give explanations of this sort:

'Any fanciful interpretation of a mark on a stone or of its shape was enough to give a character to the stone... the stone would not have that mark or shape without a reason... A stone with little disks upon it... was good to bring in money'; a stone surrounded by little stones, like a sow among her litter, would bring an increase of pigs (Codrington, *op. cit.* 181 f.). Jimmy Dei, a native of the Murray Islands (Torres Straits), had in 1898 an irregular oblong piece of vesicular lava; it was supposed to resemble the head of a *tabu* snake, and, as snakes prey upon rats and mice, he kept it in his garden to prevent rats from eating the bananas (Haddon, *Rep. of Camb. Anthropol. Exped.*, vi. 220). Similarly, red stones in many countries are said to be good for the blood, white stones for the skin, crystals for the eyes, and cloudy agates to increase the milk of nurses.

Utilitarian explanations of this sort, based on the universal passion for detecting resemblances and analogies, are sufficient to convince those who use them that there is some real though vaguely-conceived connexion between the amulets they carry and the desired objects to which, by way of justification, they refer them. But to say, with Frazer, that uncivilized people are guided in such matters by the 'laws' of a pseudo-science is to credit them with more logical system than they really employ. The choice of the object in the first place, and the utilitarian application of the likeness perceived, are both dictated not by system, but by the accidents of local supply and local needs. The Haida seal-hunter is interested mainly in seals; therefore he is quick to notice any stone whose natural shape reminds him of a seal, and for the same reason he makes the practical application that it is good for seal-catching; a Melanesian gardener would probably say of a similar stone that it would be good for growing yams. Note, again, how elastic is the method of application: a twisted root in the Malay Peninsula, a seed-capsule (*Martynia*) and a beetle's horn (*Dynastes sp.*) in Upper Burma, and a nut (*Ophiocaryon paradoxum*) in British Guiana, all used locally as amulets, have each sufficient likeness to set up a generalized idea of snakes; and, as snakes are undesirable, it is decided in each case that they must be useful against snakes and snake-bite. But if snakes were needed, the same objects would be said to attract them. In New Guinea a stone shaped like a dugong is an amulet for catching dugong; another which recalls a shark is an amulet for escaping sharks. In the Murray Islands the *nam zogo*, which primarily was for the purpose of securing success in catching turtle, could also be used to prevent turtle from being caught (Haddon, *op. cit.* vi. 51, 213, 219). The Nicobarese set up images of ships to attract traders when their coco-nuts are ready for sale, and images of crocodiles to prevent crocodiles from attacking them while bathing. There is no need to credit savage thought with any definite principle of 'similia similibus curantur'; such 'laws' belong to a late stage of systematization.

It is worth noting that the special application of amulets is often left undecided by the owners

until their efficacy has been tried. Codrington (*op. cit.* 183) says that in Melanesia a piece of water-worn coral-stone

'often bears a surprising likeness to a bread-fruit. A man who should find one of these would try its power by laying it at the root of a tree of his own, and a good crop would prove its connexion with a spirit good for bread-fruit. The happy owner would then for a consideration take stones of less marked character from other men, and let them lie near his, till the *mana* in his stone should be imparted to theirs.'

At Kampong Jarum, Ulu Rhaman (Malay Peninsula), a smooth black pebble was in use in 1901 to make the rice grow, water in which it had been washed being sprinkled over the young plants.

'The story of this stone was as follows:—Some years ago a man came to the village and said that he had lost a charm—a black stone—for making rice grow, on his way from Patani, which is about 60 miles away. A man from Jarum, passing along the same path a few days later, found the present specimen quite close to the village, and concluded it was the lost charm. He sprinkled his rice-fields with water in which the stone had been washed, and had a good crop that year. The fame of the stone was thereby established, and I had some difficulty in persuading him to part with it' (MS Cat. Annandale Coll., no. 243).

Where there is no resemblance to suggest the answer to the utilitarian question, there may be merely an assertion in general terms (tending to stiffen into tradition) that the object is 'lucky'; but very often a special application is determined by special need. 'I like it—ergo, it is good for something—ergo, it is good for what I want; for if not, what good is it to me?' This comes out quite clearly from a consideration of the amulets—in reality the large majority—of rather unspecialized character: whatever need is most pressing for a locality, class, or sex, determines the magical use of seeds, stones, bone, coral, or whatever objects are locally available and attractive. Thus, Hindus use beads, black seeds, bony plates from a crocodile's back, and carved pieces of bone—all against headache. Conversely, the Shans of Burma use elephants' nail for medicine in general; amulets of the same are hung on the children to protect them from disease; Shan women 'who are bewitched' carry part of an elephant's tail, and mothers who have lost a child wear a finger-ring of elephants' hair in the hope that the next infant may live. A collection of amulets now at the Horniman Museum, collected in Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, and Hampshire, between 1856 and 1892, shows that pieces of worn flint—all naturally grooved or perforated, and so attractively portable—have been carried by a gipsy to ensure good luck, by a poacher as 'lucky stones' but also as weapons, by a gipsy woman to protect her against 'the devil's imps,' by shepherds to ensure good luck during the lambing season and to keep foot-rot from the sheep, by the keeper of a raffle at country fairs to prevent customers from throwing high numbers, by a horse-breaker 'to keep the devil out of the horses,' by a farm-labourer to protect him from the witch Ann Izzard of St. Neots, who died about 1855, and by a woman to protect her from witches and evil spirits; to prevent and cure nose-bleeding; to ward off nightmare; to protect against lightning; to protect against being tossed and gored by cattle. Similar stones were hung up in a sty to protect the pigs from swine-fever, in a stable to keep the horses from having nightmare, and in a gipsy van to prevent the loss of horses by death. The amulets themselves were quite undifferentiated; the special applications were dictated by the owners' needs. The same thing is seen in a set of amulets from Lifu (South Pacific), forming part of the Hadfield Collection in the Manchester Museum; stones of any kind are rare on the smaller islands, and smooth pebbles and irregular fragments of lava were carried by the natives, with the most widely varying objects—to produce water, yams, and taro, to improve sling

stones with which they were kept, to secure the death of an enemy, to catch crabs, to give strength to the knee for mountain-climbing, to give ability and success and remove infertility, and to give confidence in addressing a chief. Protection against the evil eye, wherever the dread of it prevails, is made a secondary application for amulets of many kinds, although it has developed special remedies (see below). Thus, at Perungia a double walnut is carried 'for good luck against the evil eye and headache,' and a boar's tusk 'against the evil eye and witches, and to assist children in teething'; at Aquila, a heart-shaped piece of bone is efficacious 'against heart-complaint and the evil eye.' Hubert and Mauss say (*ASoc* vii. 103):

'The notion of special properties never stands alone in magic; it is always confused with a generalized idea of power and nature. True, the idea of the effect to be produced is always precise, but the idea of the special qualities [in the amulet] and their operation is always rather obscure. On the other hand, we find in magic a very distinct conception of substances which have undefined virtues: salt, blood, coral, fire, crystals, and precious metals. . . . all incorporate general magical power, susceptible of any particular application or utilization.'

It will have been suggested by the foregoing examples that certain classes of amulets are credited, primarily, not with inherent magical power, but with a borrowed virtue acquired from some person or thing regarded as sacred or mysterious. In Melanesia all manifestations of *mana* are explained by reference to personal beings: 'if a stone is found to have a supernatural power, it is because a spirit has associated itself with it; a dead man's bone has with it *mana*, because the ghost is with the bone'; and, further, many such amulets can be used only by men who know the appropriate magic chant communicated by a spirit or by a former owner (Codrington, *op. cit.* 56, 57, 119). Magical power is everywhere conceived as a quality highly transferable: sacred persons and places can impart it by definite process or by mere local association. In Southern Europe, relics of saints, portions of the True Cross, medals and pictures of saints, and sacred objects are perhaps the most highly esteemed of amulets. In Muhammadan countries amulets made of earth from Mecca or of the sweepings of the Ka'ba are worn. In Burma, bricks from sacred buildings are kept for protection (see the 'Indian' and 'Japanese' sections of the present art.). There is a tendency, also, to reinforce the supposed efficacy of an amulet by bringing it into contact with something of superior efficacy: in Europe, relics and medals are more prized if bought at a place of pilgrimage, or blessed by a priest or bishop, while amulets not licensed by the religious authorities are often hidden under the altar, or in the clothes of an infant at baptism, so as to receive consecration. In Brittany, halters and bundles of cow-hair, blessed by a priest or allowed to lie on the altar of a church, are used to protect cattle from disease (Baring Gould, *A Book of Brittany*, 1901, pp. 276-278). Again, dead men and all the associations of death are everywhere held to be a magical source of power; hence, in Europe, the amuletic uses of coffin-nails, pieces of shroud, hangman's rope, and personal relics of saints and executed criminals. Strangers, and neighbours of unfamiliar type or less advanced civilization, are credited with magical power, which may be extended to everything which they own or produce. The Arunta (Central Australia) regard the tribes north and west of their own district in this way, so that the ordinary girdles worn by the Warra-munga men are traded to the Arunta as powerful amulets (cf. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 1871, i. 102-104).

The detachable parts of animals—feet, horns, claws, teeth, scales, and so forth—form a large class of amulets. To some extent they fall within the more general categories of the small, compact,

portable, and rare; but a special application is often dictated by their association with the corresponding parts of human beings; thus,

the headman of Nankauri (Nicobar Islands) was much interested in a kingfisher that was being skinned [by a naturalist], and begged for the eyes, which he said formed a valuable specific in cases of sleeplessness' (C. B. Kloss, *op. cit.* 76).

This is not, however, a universal rule; for example, monkeys' paws are used as vermifuge amulets in Formosa, moles' paws to keep off cramp in England, porcupines' feet by Chawia women (North Africa) for protection during pregnancy, and by Arab women against sore breasts. Very often the object seems to be chosen for its connexion with the most impressive of the local animals, which are themselves credited with mysterious power. To this type belong the crocodile scutes worn in Bengal and Torres Straits; the leopard and lion skins of Africa; tigers' claws and whiskers, bears' teeth, and eagles' claws; or the various products of the elephant. The connexion may be reinforced by making a likeness of the animal; the elephant-nail amulets of the Shans are sometimes cut in the shape of an elephant. Sometimes the amulet is intended to transfer some desirable quality, as when in South Africa a kite's foot is worn to give swiftness, a lion's claw for security (Tylor, *Early History*³, 131; Haddon, *Magic and Fetishism*, 32, and references there given); but quite as often the magical efficacy is unspecialized, and the application dictated by need.

With all amulets, in fact, *nomination* is of immense importance, although nomination may be guided by tradition; when the owner of an amulet of undefined virtues decides to connect it with some particular need, he thereby makes it a charm for that purpose (Tylor, *op. cit.* 126). He has only to think so and to say so, and it becomes for him and all his circle a rain-charm, a pig-charm, or a safeguard against the evil eye (see Jetté, 'Medicine-Men of the Ten'a,' *JAI* xxxvii. 165).

It is obvious that the demand for amulets may exceed the supply of suitable natural objects, especially where tradition has fixed the type. It becomes necessary to make as well as to find them. The first steps in this direction are easy, for, when natural objects are valued for their likeness to something else, there is always a tendency to improve the likeness by art, for the maker's own satisfaction or for a purchaser. From this it is a natural advance to make amulets which are entirely artificial; and these, being made to meet a demand, have generally a fairly definite application, though many are intended to be simply 'lucky.' Leaving aside manufactured objects (such as antique beads and coins) which are merely selected, as natural objects are, for magical use, we may classify *artificial amulets* under four heads:—(i.) Imitations of natural objects, already in use as amulets, *e.g.* of horns (Italy, Portugal, etc.), teeth (large numbers made in Austria for African trade), 'seahorses' (Naples), or coral (all Mediterranean countries, and Africa north of Equator). (ii.) Representations of 'lucky' or sacred objects and protective gestures, *e.g.* of the fish (Manchuria), the pig (South Bavaria), a hunchback (Italy), crosses and figures of saints (Europe generally), the chalice (Rhône Valley), or hands with the fingers in the attitudes called 'making horns' and 'mano in fica' (South Europe and N. Africa). (iii.) Objects made of materials credited with magical efficacy, *e.g.* loops and crosses of rowan-twigs (Scotland), wood of sacred trees (India), jade (Asia), gold, etc. (iv.) Inscribed objects and written charms. Nomination plays an important part in conferring magical efficacy on artificial amulets; frequently the process of manufacture is conceived

as a magical rite, in the course of which a charm is repeated, indicating, and thereby conferring, the specific power desired. For example, a Lengua (Paraguay), when he wishes to hunt rhea or huanaco, makes a rough likeness, or rather suggestion, of the game by wrapping a bird's bone in grass or cloth; he sets this up before him and 'sings over it' to give it power (cf. Henry, *La Magie dans l'Inde antique*², Paris, 1909, p. 89 ff.). A similar rite is often performed, either by the beneficiary or by an expert, when the amulet is first put on or fixed in its place (cf. MacLagan, *Evil Eye in the Western Highlands*, 1902, p. 141 ff.). Where no attempt is made to produce a resemblance, nomination is all in all, and the amulet seems little more than a means of focusing the wish; as, for instance, in a pendant of carved jade worn by a Bengali 'as a cure for drooping spirits in adversity.'

It should be noted in this connexion that many amulets are worn in fulfilment of a prescription or vow by which their special application is indicated. A Haida magician (Queen Charlotte Is., British Columbia), when engaged in a magical cure, wears a necklet with a number of ivory or bone pendants; after the séance one of these is given to the patient, and others are sold to the bystanders as a protection against the disease in future. To cure an attack of fever, the Nicobarese *menluana* ('magician') prescribes the painting of a *henta* ('magical picture') by the village artist, and if the patient recovers, it is kept in the house as a potent charm against further attacks (C. B. Kloss, *op. cit.* 85). Peasant women near Bologna make a vow, in church, to the Virgin, that they will wear garters or girdles under their clothes for the cure of diseases.

Inscribed amulets and charms—a very important class of artificial amulets—may be classified as: (i.) Inscribed objects valued as such apart from the meaning of the inscription. The art of writing always raises a presumption of magical power where the population is mainly illiterate; hence, objects with accidental markings resembling written characters are prized, as well as mere scribbling in imitation of writing (Sudan, etc.). The use made of ancient coins (Europe, Asia) is possibly connected with this, but in some cases (*e.g.* China, Japan, Korea) they are valued for their association with the persons whose names appear on them; Chinese sword-sheaths made of coins are meant to convey the supernatural power and beneficence of all the emperors represented. Hence they should perhaps be placed in the next list. (ii.) Objects inscribed with sacred and magical names, designs, and figures (see 'Christian,' 'Jewish,' 'Indian,' sections of this art.). (iii.) Objects with inscriptions indicating their application; many of the charms distributed at Japanese temples are merely papers stamped 'for protection,' 'against thieves,' 'for easy delivery,' etc. (see 'Japanese' section). (iv.) Copies of sacred texts to which magical efficacy is ascribed (see 'Jewish' and 'Muhammadan' sections). (v.) Copies of prescriptions and curative charms; these are of frequent use in European folk-practice, the prescription being first carried out or the charm repeated, and the copy worn or preserved until the cure is complete. Sometimes, however, the formula is not repeated or disclosed, but only written out by an expert and given to the patient (see *FL* and other publications of the Folk-Lore Society, London, *passim*). The popularity of classes (iv.) and (v.) has given rise in many countries to the manufacture of various charm-cases—leather cases (Syria, Muhammadan Africa), silk and cotton bags (South Europe, India, Japan, etc.), metal cylinders (India, Tibet, etc.), or rolls of lead-foil

(Burma)—and there is a tendency to credit these with amuletic efficacy irrespective of their contents.

Amulets against the evil eye constitute a special class, although, as has been said, all other kinds tend to receive a secondary application to this danger wherever the fear of it prevails, children, pregnant women and nursing mothers, domestic animals, ripe crops, and, in short, whatever is likely to arouse envy being considered in special need of protection. Co-extensive with the spread of the belief along the European and African shores of the Mediterranean and through Italy into Central Europe, along parts of the Atlantic seaboard, up the Nile, and through Syria, Turkey, and Asia Minor into Asia, is a marked development of the use of amulets, some intended to fortify the possessor against the effects of the evil glance, and others to intercept or divert it. They include (1) representations of eyes, and natural objects resembling eyes; (2) representations of hands making prophylactic gestures; (3) phallic representations; (4) representations of hunchbacks, death's-heads, and other singularities; (5) almonds, nuts, seeds, shells, and representations of them (these are often supposed to break when the glance falls on them, and earthen pots are placed near crops on the same principle); (6) hoars' tusks, canine teeth of wolves and other carnivora, horns, and artificial representations of any of them, and various crescentic objects, especially representations of the moon; (7) crystal and alum; (8) coral, imitations of it, and other red materials; (9) blue materials, e.g. glass, porcelain, beads, woollen yarn, turquoise, and imitations of it. (For discussions of the significance of these and other types, see bibliography for works by Bellucci, Elworthy, Leland, MacLagan, Ridgeway, and Westermarck.)

Certain other instruments of magical practice should be studied in connexion with amulets and charms. Implements of *divination* are often kept for repeated use, and credited with a magical power of bringing about events as well as indicating them. Again, it is often difficult to draw the line between amulets and *fetishes*, especially when these are natural objects (or artificial reproductions of them) chosen, as amulets are, for their singularity or their accidental resemblance to other things, valued as personal possessions, and credited with magical power. The difference seems to lie in the nearer approach to personification in the case of the fetish, which becomes the object of rites which at least resemble prayer and offering (see Frobenius, *Childhood of Man*, 1909, p. 186, fig. 195; Cushing, *Zuñi Fetiches*, *passim*; Haddon, *Reports of the Cambr. Anthropol. Exped. to Torres Straits*, vol. vi. section xiii. [1908]). The use of material objects, especially images, in *sorcery*, to do magical harm to persons or property depends on the same general idea of magical power, in this case not inherent, but conferred by a rite. Great emphasis is laid on resemblance between the instrument and the subject of attack, and in this connexion the ideas of 'sympathetic magic' are most strongly and systematically developed; there are, however, cases in which the image is regarded not as representing the subject, but as the embodiment of the sorcerer's magical power or wish (Henry, *La Magie dans l'Inde antique*², Paris, 1909, pp. 169-173, 227-230). The primary function of certain other magical objects (e.g. 'wish-bones' in Europe, sorcery-concoctions with lock and key in West Africa) is to focus, or register, the operator's wish, though there is a constant tendency to credit them with power to fulfil it. Connected with these are many kinds of *votive offerings* deposited in holy or 'lucky' places; and these again

must be compared with such amulets as are worn in fulfilment of a vow and to obtain a specified benefit (see above).

See, further, the articles *DIVINATION, FETISHISM, DISEASE AND MEDICINE, MAGIC, SACRIFICE, WITCHCRAFT*.

LITERATURE AND MATERIALS FOR STUDY.—**I. MUSEUMS:** the Pitt-Rivers Collection, University Museum, Oxford [comparative series of over 500 amulets and objects connected with magic: catalogue in preparation]; the Haddfield and Darbshire collections in the Manchester Museum, Owens College, Manchester; the Horniman Museum, Forest Hill, London [small series, chiefly British]; Mr. Edward Lovett's Folk-Museum, Croydon.

ii. BOOKS.—C. Adler and I. M. Casanowicz, 'The Collection of Ceremonial Objects in the U.S. Nat. Museum,' *Proc. U.S. Nat. Mus.* xxxiv. 701-746, pl. ix.-cv.; R. G. Anderson, 'Medical Practices and Superstitions amongst the People of Kordofan,' *Third Report of the Wellcome Research Laboratories*, Dept. of Education, Sudan Government, Khartoum, 1909, p. 281 ff.; G. Bellucci, *Tradizioni Popolari Italiani*, no. 2, 'Il feticismo primitivo in Italia,' no. 3, 'Un capitolo di Psicologia Popolare: Gli Amuleti,' Perugia, 1908; E. de Cartailhac, *L'Age de pierre dans les souvenirs et superstitions populaires*, Paris, 1877; A. B. Cook, *Συκοφάντις*, in *Class. Rev.* xxi. 133; R. Corso, 'Amuleti contemporanei Calabresi,' in *Rev. des ét. ethnogr. et sociol.*, nos. 21, 22, Paris, Sept.-Oct. 1909, p. 250; F. H. Cushing, 'Zuñi Fetiches,' *3 RBEW*, 1883; F. T. Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, London, 1895, also *Horns of Honour*, London, 1900; A. C. Haddon, *Magic and Fetishism*, London, 1908; W. L. Hildburgh, 'Notes on Spanish Amulets,' in *FL* xvii. [1908] 454, 'Notes on Sinhalese Magic,' *JAI* xxxviii. [1908] 148 ff. pl. xi.-xvi., and 'Notes on some Tibetan and Bhutia Amulets and Folk-medicines, and a few Nepalese Amulets. Notes on some Burmese Amulets and Magical Objects,' in *JAI* xxxix. [1909] 388, 397, pl. 38-39; C. G. Leland, *Etruscan Roman Remains in Popular Tradition*, London, 1892; R. C. MacLagan, 'Notes on Folk-lore Objects collected in Argyshire,' *FL* vi. [1895], also *The Evil Eye in the Western Highlands*, London, 1902; A. N. Moberley, 'Amulets as agents in the Prevention of Disease,' in *Mem. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, i. 223-243; S. H. Perry, 'Sorcery in England,' in *Reliquary*, xiii. 157; C. B. Plowright, 'Moorish Origin of certain Amulets,' in *Reliquary*, xii. 106-118; W. Ridgeway, 'The Origin of the Turkish Crescent,' *JAI* xxxviii. [1908] 241 ff. pl. xix.-xxv.; E. Westermarck, 'The Magic Origin of Moorish Designs,' *ib.* xxxiv. [1904]; numerous papers in *FL*, *JAI*, and *Man*.

BARBARA FREIRE-MARRECO.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Abyssinian).

I. Appearance.—Abyssinian charms or amulets are made of from one to three strips of parchment or leather, which varies greatly in thickness and quality, sewn together with thongs of the same material, the whole forming a strip from c. 50 cm. to 2 m. in length, and from c. 5 cm. to 25 cm. in width. Many specimens have lost the beginning or end. The scroll thus formed is rolled tightly together, and bound with cord, or inserted in a telescoping capsule, or sewn tightly in leather. Convenience or the conservatism of magic has given the roll-form the preference, though magical works, containing legends and spells, and evidently designed, like the scrolls, to be carried rather than read, are often found in small bound volumes with heavy wooden covers. Capsules and leather-covered rolls of this sort are often strung together, to the number of five or six, and ornamented with beads.

Upon this material the Abyssinian *dabtarā* ('canon') writes the legends, spells, words of power, secret signs, and other devices which are to make the charm effective. The appearance of such scrolls is unique. At the top is usually a picture of the archangel Michael or Gabriel with sword in hand, accompanied by smaller angelic figures or faces. Curious spider-like forms, eyes (doubtless representing the evil eye), the fish, the serpent, the lion (or dog [?]), the cross with sun and moon on either side, and indescribably fantastic figures combine with geometric designs in endless yet characteristic array. The 'Seal of 'Eskeder,' or Alexander, so designated by a subscription, in the form of an interlaced figure, appears in one instance, and suggests a similar interpretation of the unintelligible figures above mentioned. Only very rarely is there an illustration bearing upon the accompanying text, as in the pictures noted

In three instances of the saint Sūsneyōs mounted and attacking the demoness Werzelyā. The name of the possessor of the scroll appears many times throughout the roll. The space for the insertion of the name is left blank by the maker, the name being afterward filled in for the purchaser, and subsequently changed as many times as need be, when the roll passes from hand to hand, which is very often the case. Not only at the top but at the end, and in the middle, once or twice, such figures are placed, again without any reference to the text.

The substance of the spells is written in a script generally very much debased, and in some instances assuming a character attributable only to a desire for the bizarre and mysterious, mixed with magical signs, suggesting, on the one hand, Abyssinian or Arabic letters, on the other, the signs which are found in Coptic and late Greek magical texts. The language is a more or less successful attempt at Ge'ez, the ancient, ecclesiastical, and literary language of Abyssinia, commonly known as Ethiopic. The Amharic-speaking scribe is everywhere evident; and in some instances the writer passes completely into the latter language.

2. Age.—The dating of the texts is very difficult. A few are possibly as old as the 15th cent. A.D., and magic scrolls continue to be written in Abyssinia to-day. There is every reason to believe that, however much these texts have accumulated through contact with Muslim and European influences,¹ much or most that is in them goes back to the Byzantine Christian magical texts and books.

3. Use.—Abyssinian charms are worn about the neck, or merely kept in the house, of the possessor. It would seem from the texts that the presence of the roll is in itself sufficient for complete protection—a fetishistic idea which is familiar. But there is also frequent mention of the immunity that comes to him who 'reads the book.' A peculiar form of amulet, described by Turayeff (*Lefāfa-Şedeq*, St. Petersburg, 1908), and reminding one strongly of the Egyptian Book of the Dead, was buried with the body to procure for its possessor complete justification in the next world.

4. Contents.—The text of the scrolls, besides the figures, etc., above described, contains both simple spells and words of power, the whole being accompanied by legends explaining how they originated, were first used, and came to have their efficacy. The latter device is well known in magic literature, from earliest Babylonian times onward. It will be necessary to speak first of the legends.

(a) *The legend of Sūsneyōs and Werzelyā* is the most common. It tells how a man named Sūsneyōs marries a wife and begets a child, to which a certain demoness (or witch, or old woman with the evil eye), called Werzelyā, comes in the house, and, departing, causes its death. She goes into a lonely place where she meets her companions, the unclean spirits and demons. The mother complains to the father, Sūsneyōs, regarding what has happened; he mounts his horse, and with spear in hand starts in quest of Werzelyā to kill her. Not knowing where she is to be found, he inquires of an old woman (witch?) at the roadside, who says that she has gone into a 'garden' which lies straight before him. He meets her there, surrounded by demons in large numbers. He prays to Jesus Christ for help in the contest with these supernatural foes; and, after hearing a voice from

heaven which announces the granting of his petition, he advances against Werzelyā and pierces her side. At this point the texts are at variance. An exorcism by the 'seven ranks of archangels' follows, which seems to be an essential part of the legend; but it is uncertain by whom, with what purpose, and with what result it was uttered; and the close is variously treated. There are five different versions, as follows:—(1) The fate of Werzelyā is not stated. It is not expressly mentioned that she dies; and she does not promise 'not to go where his name is found.' This form is incomplete. (2) Werzelyā is not killed by the stroke, and presumably continues to live; but she promises not to harm any one who stands under the protection of the name of Sūsneyōs. The exorcism by the seven archangels is uttered by Werzelyā with the result of saving her life. This form is the commonest, and doubtless the original one. Werzelyā is an ever-living semi-human personality, which continues to harm such as are not protected by the name of the hero who vanquished her. The exorcism has a purpose in the narrative. (3) The demoness dies, and is consequently no more able to harm. The exorcism has no effect or purpose. She makes no promise to refrain from evil; but in death she is once for all disposed of. As in the foregoing form, she is not a ghost but a demoniac human being. This form cannot be original, because Werzelyā must be accounted for as an ever-present agency. (4) Werzelyā dies, but promises nevertheless not to assail the protégés of the hero. Here it is the ghost of the slain woman that continues to harm, unless prevented by the charm. But this form may be merely a mixture of (2) and (3), and in any case leaves the exorcism without purpose. (5) It is Sūsneyōs, and not Werzelyā, who pronounces the exorcism, and for the purpose of saving his life (?)—a possible but very unlikely version, which leaves the question of Werzelyā's fate unsettled.

This legend is a combination of a pagan superstition and the story of a Christian martyr. Of the night-hag who kills little children more will be said below; the idea is found everywhere. This name Werzelyā has not been satisfactorily explained. It has been connected with Hebrew כַּרְלִי, כַּרְלִי (O. von Lemm, *Kopt. Miscellen*, St. Petersburg, 1907); and thought to be of Cushitic-African origin (Littmann, 'The Princeton Ethiopic Magic Scroll,' *Princeton Univ. Bulletin*, xv. 1, 1908, pp. 31-42). It is found in Coptic texts (cf. the *Hymn to Sousennios*, in which the name *Berzēlia* occurs [von Lemm, *op. cit.*]; also Crum, *Catal. of the Coptic MSS in the British Museum*, 1906, p. 263, no. 524). There is probably no connexion with Ursula, as is maintained by Fries ('The Ethiopic Legend of Socinius and Ursula,' *Actes du huitième Congrès Intern. d. Orient.*, sec. I. B, Leyden, 1893, pp. 55-70); but the matter has not yet been definitely settled (see Littman, *op. cit.*; and especially Basset, *Les Apocryphes éthiopiens*, iv., Paris, 1894). Of the identity of Sūsneyōs with the Greek Sisionios there can be no doubt. There were several persons of that name in the 5th century. The original was the martyr who lived in the reign of Diocletian (Basset, *op. cit.* p. 101.), and who in Antioch killed his sister for murder and intercourse with Satan. Only in one of the MSS used by Fries (*op. cit.*) is this sister named Werzelyā. It is easy to see how a saint, famous for his slaying of a monstrous woman, might become the slayer of the dreaded night-hag. In the Slavic legends we have a story of Sisoe and his sister Meletia (Gaster, *FL* xi., 1900, 129-162)¹ similar to that of Sūsneyōs and Werzelyā. According to Basset (*op. cit.*), the successor of Mani, the Manichaean Sisinios, is the real opponent of the night-hag, and the confusion with the martyr is later. We know that Babylonian, and therefore probably Manichaean, heliefs were

¹ Meletia is the sister of Sisoe and the mother of children who at birth are stolen by the Devil; not the demoness who kills the one (firstborn) child of the saint and his wife (unnamed). The search of the mounted saint, the meeting, the prayer, are all represented. The evil spirit promises not to approach the place where his name is found. There is no oath by the archangels. The Devil is made to vomit up the swallowed children by the saint who, after prayer, is able to perform the miracle demanded, and vomit up his mother's milk. This last feature, and the questioning of the trees on the road (instead of the old woman) are characteristic of the Slavic and the Greek legends (see below). The story of a demoness Vestitza, who kills newborn children, and who is overcome by the archangel Michael, is also reported by Gaster (*op. cit.*).

¹ Rochus (Rāqō)—once mentioned, died 16th Aug. 1827, and was canonized in 1414 at the Council of Constance. The name came to Abyssinia probably through the Portuguese.

full of the idea of this female demon; but the notion is one widely diffused and possibly of independent origin.¹

Greek amulets have the same motif, and even the name Siainnios. One example (Leo Allatius, *De templis Græcorum recentioribus*, Cologne, 1646, p. 126 ff.) contains the account of how the saints Σαῖννιος and Σαῖνναπος, in behalf of their stricken sister Μελίτη and with the help of God, pursue with many adventures the demoness Γυλαὸς, the harmer of little children. After her capture she promises under punishment not to come near those possessing the amulet. Γυλαὸς, Γελαὸς, Γελαῶ, Γελαῶ in the Jewish Lilit, the Babylonian *Lilitu*, echoing still the Bab. name *Gallû* (cf. Kohut, 'Jüdische Angelologie,' in *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, iv. [1886] 87; and C. Frank, 'Zu babylonischen Beschwörungstexten,' in *ZA* xxiv. 161 ff.), and has here the rôle of Werzelyä. Similar is the story of the meeting of Michael and Βασκανία (-οσίνη, 'witchcraft'; e.g. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, Leipzig, 1904, p. 295 ff.), where the place of Siainnios is taken by the archangel. This Hellenistic motif of the saint who slays the *Baskania* found, possibly in Egypt, definite employment in a literary legend-amulet of *Sousennios* and *Berzēlia* (cf. von Lenin, *loc. cit.*) for the use of women in childbirth. This may have come to Abyssinia in the 14th or 15th century. It came also into other lands (cf. Mai, *Script. Vet. Nova Collectio*, Rome, 1821, iv. 314, MS clxxiv. 5 and 60, where an Arabic MS from Aleppo is mentioned containing the Siainnios legend with exorcism).

(b) *The Legend of the Fish-net of Solomon* is of frequent occurrence. It begins with the formula: 'The names of Salōmōn: how he scattered the demons as a fish-net (is thrown out), saying . . . [here follow magical words].' The narrative follows of how the demons seize Solomon and bury him, and bring him before the 'king' (i.e. of the demons; see below), who challenges him to a contest of power. Solomon proves victor over the 'blacksmiths' (i.e. demons; see below), who attack him, by uttering the word 'Lōfhām.' The 'king' is then constrained to reveal all his 'signs' by which his activity may be known, e.g. miscarriage, madness, death (especially of women and children), and secret commerce with women followed by the birth of monstrous children. Of these latter a long list is given, consisting of the names of domestic animals and, in some MSS, of wild animals. Solomon curses the demon and exorcizes him again. At the close there is a prayer:

'I seal my face (with the sign of the Cross) against the great terror of the demons and blacksmiths. . . I take refuge in "Lōfhām," thy (magic) name . . . that I may scatter my enemies, and become their enemy . . . (names of demons) . . . that they may not come to me, and not approach my soul and my body, who am Thy servant N. N.'

It is impossible to restore the precise form of this story, as it is badly confused and fragmentary.

(c) *The Legend of 'Ainat* relates how Jesus and His disciples at the Sea of Tiberias meet with an old woman of terrible appearance, having a flame issuing from her mouth, and eyes as red as the rising sun. When questioned about her, Jesus says that she is 'Ainat, and describes the evils which she causes—shipwreck, falling of rider and horse, the ruining of milch cows, and the separation of mother and child—and pronounces two magic words which render her powerless. The disciples burn her (or her eye), and scatter her ashes to the four winds of heaven. At the close is the petition: 'May her memory be destroyed, and may the memory of 'Ainat be destroyed from Thine handmaid N. N.'

The name 'Ainat is connected with 'ain, 'the evil eye'; the presumption of an Arabic origin or mediation is confirmed by the title: 'The Prayer of Naḍ(a)rā' (= Egyptian-Arab, *an-Nadrah*, or classical Arab. *an-Naḍrah*, 'the evil eye'). The Arabic original from which the Abyssinian version was prepared is perhaps represented by the legend, agreeing in almost every detail, which is described in the *Catalogue of the Coptic MSS in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, ed. by W. E. Crum, 1909, p. 239 f., no. 487 E. Like Werzelyä, 'Ainat is a native demoniac figure, given a foreign name and story.

¹ Gaster (*op. cit.*) gives parallels, from Hebrew sources, of the Susemyēs-Werzelyä type, which he regards as the ancestors of the Slavic legends. We incline to the opinion that the Greek-Slavic legends of Europe are not derived from the Greek-Coptic legends of Africa (the postulated ancestors of the present Abyssinian stories), but that both are separate developments of the Hellenistic motif, ultimately Heb.-Bab. (cf. the cootest of Marduk-Bel with Tiamat and her demons). At present, however, nothing definite can be said about it.

(d) *Other legends* are found in the bound magical works, and in the scrolls buried with the dead (see above); such are the accounts of how Mary revealed the secret names of Christ (*Tell Me Thy Name; The Names of Our Lord; The Disciples*), the *Prayer of the Virgin among the Parthians, at Golgotha, in Egypt*, and the *Prayer of Cyprian*, which seem to have been written in the reign of the famous reformer and opponent of magic, Zar'a Ya'qōb (1434-1468). All these legends are of Christian literary origin, and closely related to the miracle stories, out of which, in the process of degeneration, they have gradually emerged as magical literature—the Christian dress of an unconquerable pagan tendency.

(e) *Shorter and simpler spells*, standing midway between the literary legends and the mere words of power, occur in large numbers. A few typical examples are the following:

(a) BIBLICAL in origin are, e.g., Ps 11-3 (because of the occurrence of 'wither': there follows the application 'thou may not wither the fruit of the womb of thine handmaid, N. N.'). Ps 91 (Septuagint 90). Because of the catalogue of evils, and the promise of God's protection, this is much used, and furnishes many expressions found elsewhere. The following are employed because they contain the word 'blood,' the application being that the quotation will save the person concerned (from bloodshed (?) or) from barrenness (the continued menstruation, or the hemorrhage of disease, are both spoken of as the failure of the child to 'solidify'): Ps 56 912 164 309 5013 5114 5310 6823 7344 793 13919 (often so much modified as not to be easily recognized), Dt 3242, Ro 318 (cf. Ia 597, Pr 116). Also, to aid conception: Jn 114 ('And the Word became flesh' . . .), Mk 525ff. (the woman with an issue of blood). Jn 15ff. is used to ward off demons ('apprehended,' κατέλαβεν, is rendered by Eth. *yerakeb*, which means 'came upon' or 'attacked'), the prayer follows: 'May the demons not attack . . .'. There are exorcisms by the Twenty-four Elders (Rev 44), the Four Beasts (45), the Twelve Apostles, the four Evangelists, and the Fifteen Prophets; and, though extra-Biblical in this connexion, the Three Hundred and Eighteen Orthodox (who gathered at Nicaea).¹

(β) MUSLIM AND ARABIC in origin is, e.g.: *Lā ḥawla wālā quwwata illā billāhi l-'aliyi l-karim* ('There is no Power and no Might except with God the Exalted, the Glorious!'), which appears in Ethiopic translation, not in phonetic imitation, like those given below.

(γ) MISCELLANEOUS.—The formula, 'In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,' is used as a spell by itself; and is regularly employed in introducing each new division of text (called *ḥalōt* = 'prayer'). It may sometimes, though certainly not always, be used merely as a common Christian formula, and without other intention. Remarkable, and characteristic of Abyssinia, are the hymns called *salāms*. They are well known in legitimate literature, and seem to appear in amulets partly as borrowed lore of the Church, possessing for that reason magical efficacy, partly as modified or newly invented hymns, with a magical purpose in view from the first. They begin with the words *salām laka*, 'Hail to thee . . .!' and celebrate some saint, or angel, or deed of valour. Such are, e.g., the hymn to the archangel *Rūfī'el*, the 'opener of the womb'; to *Fānī'el* (Heb. פָּאֲנִי'ֵל = 'Face of God'; the meaning is remembered by the Abyssinians), who drives away the demons from before the face of God, where they assemble to accuse mankind of his evil deeds (cf. Satan in the prologue of the Book of Job), and who drives away the demons upon earth. He is the Angel of Forgiveness. This hymn is very common, and varies greatly in length and in the order of the verses. It contains a reference which indicates that it was composed for magical purposes. The hymn to the *Lance of Langinās* is used against the disease called *wag'at* ('stitch in the side'). From the circumstance that the word *wag'ō* (= 'pierced it') occurs. The idea is found elsewhere; see, e.g., Cockayne, *Leechdoms, Wort-cunning, and Starcraft of Early England*, London, 1864-6, pp. 1, 393, where a spell against stitch is given: 'Longinus miles lancea ponxit dominum et restitit sanguis et recessit dolor.' There are many exorcisms composed of the names of demons and their qualities and evil works, as in Bab. ritual texts; and of the epithets and attributes of God and of the Cross.

(f) *Magical formulae, or words of power*, fill a

¹ Gaster (*op. cit.* p. 142) has: '360 holy fathers of the Council of Nicaea.' The theoretical Babylonian year has 360 days, or 318 of which the moon would be visible to the average eye (cf. Winckler, *Geschichte Israels*, 1900, ii. 27, regarding the Eliezer Gematrias [318] of Gn 1414 152). The remarkable and hardly casual number of persons (317+1) who went from Mitanni to Egypt in connexion with the marriage of Kiripia (Giklhipa) and Amenhotep III. (see Breasted, *Ancient Records*, London, 1906, ii. 347 f.; Winckler, *Tell-el-Amarna Letters*, Berlin, 1896, 16. 5; 41. 42) has never been noticed in this connexion; nor the traditional year of the appearance of the heresies of Arius (318). For this symbolic number in Christian writers, see the reference in *HDB* iii. 567; *PRE*, s.v. 'Zahleu.'

large rôle in the texts. They are meaningless in themselves, except to the initiated. Many are invented apparently on the spur of the moment by the writer of the scroll; others seem to be passed along with more or less accuracy, though in themselves unintelligible. A large number, however, can be traced to a definite source. Foreign words and proper words, because unintelligible, or by reason of some association, are taken over, and then modified by omission, or addition, or the reversal of the consonants. More frequently the writer pretends to know the meaning of the words, and translates—incorrectly. While despising each other, Muslims and Christians borrow phonetically the formulæ used in the strange religion—a phenomenon well known to anthropologists.

E.g. ARABIC: *Bismi 'l-lâhi 'r-rahmâni 'r-rahîm*, 'In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful'; reminiscences or fragments of *Sûra* oxi. of the Qur'ân . . . *lam yalid walam yulad* . . . 'He begoteth not, neither is He begotten'; *A'ûdhû billâhi minâ 'sh-Shaitâni 'r-Ragîm*, 'I take refuge with God from Satan the accursed' (*Sûra* xvi. 100); *Fayakun*, 'So let there be' (the mighty word by which the world was created); *Yâ rasûla 'l-lâh*, 'O Apostle of God'; and many other Arabic words and expressions.

HEBREW are: *Eh'yê asher eh'yê*, 'I am that I am' (Ex 3:14; cf. Goldziher, in *ZA* xxi. 244, and xx. 412); *Eshaddai*, *Sebâ'ôh*, *Adonai*, *Yahweh*, *Elôhim*,—names of God; *Bersabehelyôs*, *Bersabêl*, the greatest of the names of Christ (perhaps with Littmann [Gesch. der äthiop. Litteratur, Leipzig, 1907, p. 238] = *Bêrsheba*), 'Bersheba, with the magic ending -êl and the Gr. ending -ôs); *Lôfham*, and the reverse, *Mehafelôn* (the mighty word used by Solomon, and suggesting the etymology *לִפְּחַם*, 'destructive'); *Salômôn* in its Greek form, and the reversed and modified forms: *Mêlôs*, *Melyôs*, *Malôs*, *Malâlôs*, *Lôs*, *Malalyôs*, *Milalyôs*, *Môlôs*, *Lamelôs*, *Nemlôs*, *Nêlôs*.

GREEK are: *Theos* (*Tâ'ôe*); *Messias* (*Mâsyâs*); *Pneuma* (*Ebnôbyâ*); *Alfâ* (Rev 18:218 22:13; cf. Ludloff, *Hist. Aethiop.*, Frankfurt, 1881, *Commentarius*, 1891, p. 859); *Bêta Iêta* (*Bêtâ Yôfâ*); perhaps for *βασιλεὺς τῶν ἰουδαίων*, Mt 27:37); *Elôî*, *Elôî*, *lâma sabachthamêi* (Mk 15:34). These Aramaic words in Greek letters are distorted variously in the Abyssinian magical texts, but are accurately transliterated in the Ethiopic NT. The magician adds learnedly: ' . . . which, in its interpretation, is: "God, my God, see me and hear me! Lord, my God, see me and hear me!"'.

LATIN is found in *Antiquus* (*Antikôs*); and in the famous SATOR formula,¹ which appears with some variations, e.g.:

Sator	Aladôr	Danât	Adêrâ	Rôdâs
Sâdar	Alâdar	Danât	Rôdâs	Rôdâs
Sâdor	Arôdâ	Dânâd	Adêrâ	Rôdâs

(Ludloff, *op. cit.* p. 351, where they are called 'the five wounds of Christ').

In this word-magic the Christian elements are prominent. The unintelligible words may conceal pagan African elements unknown to us. There is little to suggest the Gnostic magical literature (e.g. the seven vowels *αεωωωω*), though the repetition of monosyllables is common.

(g) *The wizards and demons of the texts* are partly literary Christian and partly popular in origin. The Septuagint and the New Testament often furnish the starting-point not only for the terminology, but even for the underlying ideas. Ps 91 has been alluded to (see above). Whatever may have been the teaching of the first missionaries to Abyssinia, the magical texts clearly show how the demonological passages in the Gospels were understood. The following is a brief outline of the kinds of wizards and demons, with examples:

i. Wonder-workers of olden time: *Salômôn*, *Eskeder* or *Ashkar* (Alexander), *Qôpreyanôs* (Cyprian).

ii. Wizards of various origin, called 'kings'; witches capable of assuming animal form. Such are: *Nahâbi*, *Tabib* (smith); *Agâbê kerdâ* (medicine-man); *Bûdâ*, *Zar* (demoniac forms assumed by smiths); *Âinawarg* (= *Bûdâ* ?); *Nôbâ*, who leads the dust-demons (whirlwind ?); *Qumâhâ* (wizard); and others.

iii. Demons proper, for whom there are many general terms: *Gânên*, *Saitân*, *Sâim* (black), *Tekûr* (black), *Qayyeh* (red), *Akmôsê* (laughing ?), *Qatâlâi* (killing), *Met'at* (for *Met'at* :

phantasm), *Aguer'e* (speaking badly, or in *trenzy* ?), *Algûm* (not answering).—(1) Demons with individual names, not causing specific diseases; (a) Biblical: *Diya'bôlôs*, *Saitân*, *Mastêmâ* (cf. Book of Jubilees, where it is a name of Satan), *Demon of Noon-day* (Ps 91:6), *Unforeseen Evil* (Ps 91:6), *Lêgêwôn* (Lk 8:23-33. The titles in the Eth. NT show the beginnings of this).—(2) Non-Biblical: These are very numerous; among others *Werzelyâ* (see above), *Be'ûnât* (= *Werzelyâ* ?). The word is probably

from vulgar Arabic: **B'ône*, بوننة [classical بوننة], an

attempt to write Coptic *Boone*, which means *Invidia*, *Âinat* (see above). *Dabbâs*, *Dask*, and *Tafant* are popular names of demons.—(2) Classes of demons bearing a collective name: (a) Diseases: e.g. modern vernacular words for *Pest*, *Epilepsy*, *Headache*, *Sharp Pains*, *Stitch*, *Consumption*, *Diphtheria* (?), *Oppression of the heart*, *Stomach worms*, *Colic*, *Fever*, *Rheumatism*, *Insanity*, *Malaria*, *Miscarriage*, *Pneumonia* (?), and *Kidney disease* (?). The identification is often uncertain. The disease is identical with the demon.—(3) Elements: *Âir*, *River*, *Dust*, and *Ocean*.—(4) Localities designated by a tribal or ethnic name: *Bâryâ*, *Felâsâ* (also 'Era'ê), *Gallâ*, *Manbô*, and many others.

LITERATURE.—In addition to that given in the text of the article: W. H. Worrell, 'Studien zum abessin. Zauberwesen,' in *ZA* xxiii. (1909) 149 ff., xxiv. 59 ff. [to be completed in following numbers]; E. Littmann, art. *ABYSSINIA* in present work, also 'Arde'et, the Magic Book of the Disciples,' in *JAOS* xxv. (1904) 1; N. Rhodokanakis, 'Eine äthiop. Zauberrolle im Museum der Stadt Wells,' in *WZKM* xviii. 3 ff.; B. Turayeff, art. 'Ethiopic Magic Prayers,' in Chwolson's *Festschrift*, Berlin, 1899 [Ethiopic and Russian]. Ignazio *Il Vocabolario Amaro-Italiano*, Rome, 1901, contains many names of demons and diseases. A facsimile of an Ethiopic amulet, with description, will be found in F. T. Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, London, 1896, pp. 390-4.

W. H. WORRELL.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (American).—

While charms and amulets are diffused among all the aborigines of the New World, a systematic consideration of them is beset with serious difficulties. To classify them by external features, such as shape or construction, would be manifestly artificial; but it is hardly better to group them on the basis of function. While some charms are doubtless invested with specific virtues, many serve the most diverse purposes at the same time. The most profitable method of approach will be to pass from one culture area to another, and to correlate, wherever possible, the superstitions attached to the use of the charms with the fundamental religious conceptions of their owners.

i. Eskimos.—Beginning in the north, we find among the Eskimos a variety of usages centring in the world-wide belief in sympathetic and imitative magic. The 'Polar' Eskimo near Cape York, Greenland, carries with him his *arnuaq*, which is supposed to confer certain qualities and to guard against danger. Hawks being the surest slayers of their prey, parents sew the head or feet of a hawk into a boy's clothes in order to make him a great hunter. Because the black guillemot is clever in catching cod, men wear its foot to become great slayers of their quarry—whales or narwhals. To endow children with the strength of a bear, parents sew into the boys' caps the skin from the roof of a bear's mouth. Similarly, a piece of a fox's head, or of old dried fox-dung, is sewed into a person's clothes to impart the fox's cunning. While fire is considered very powerful, an old hearth-stone is regarded as still stronger, because it has withstood the fire; accordingly, bits of hearth-stones are sewed to clothing to secure long life and fortitude for the wearer. The women of this division of the Eskimos rarely use amulets, but when they do, the same conceptions appear. The kittiwake lays very small eggs; accordingly, a girl having a kittiwake head sewed into her clothes will not give birth to large children. In all the cases cited, care must be taken that the animals have not been killed by men; the bear-charm, for example, is made when an old bear-cranium has been found.¹ The Greenlanders

¹ Rasmussen, *The People of the Polar North* (London, 1908), p. 133 f.

i SATOR
AREPO
TENET
OPERA
ROTAS

This palladrome, well known in European folk-lore, seems to have originated in the early Middle Ages. It may have reached Abyssinia through the Portuguese; but the form *Arôdâ*, found in Coptic texts, makes the mediation of Egypt probable. The place of its origin is, we believe, unknown. See R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, Berlin, 1900, iii. 564 ff., and literature cited.

farther south also formerly employed a multitude of amulets. A piece of a European's clothing or shoe was believed to instil European skill. In other cases the psychology of the practice is less clear. Pieces of old wood or stone, beaks and claws of birds, leather bands for the forehead, chest, or arms, were all worn as a protection against spirits, disease, and death; they were considered especially effective in preventing the departure of children's souls during a thunderstorm. Whalers attached a fox's head to the front of their boat, while the harpoon was furnished with an eagle's beak. To prevent a kayak from capsizing, a small model kayak with an armed mannikin was attached to the boat, this model being sometimes replaced by a dead sparrow or snipe, a piece of wood, or other small objects.¹ The navel-string was considered an effective amulet for restoring a child to health and promoting longevity.²

Like their eastern kinsmen, the Hudson Bay Eskimos sew pieces of skin or cloth on their under garments to avert disease. The tip of a caribou's tail sewed to the coat ensures good luck in caribou hunting, and many boys use this charm in order to become good hunters. The hair of a successful hunter is sought for the same purpose, so that a native woman begged of Captain Comer a lock of hair from each of his temples for her boy, in order that he might get an abundance of game in later years. Strips of caribou skin put round little girls' wrists will make them skilful in cutting and sewing skins. Shirts are sometimes equipped with such charms, and bears' teeth on a boy's shirt, secured by Captain Comer, are believed to make the wearer fearless of bears, while a seal's teeth will ensure success in sealing. A piece of whale skin prevents the boy's kayak from capsizing, and rabbit ears enable him to approach caribou unseen. A wolf's lip will make him howl like a wolf; this will cause the caribou to run into the ponds, where they can be easily captured from the kayak. A seal's nose on the front of the jacket will entice the seal towards the wearer. A woman who wishes her child to have a white skin sews a white stone to its clothing. Bugs and bees, when similarly attached, are supposed to prolong life; a piece of flint sewed in the sleeve strengthens the arms and hands. Oil drippings are highly valued as amulets against supernatural enemies and as hunting charms. Accordingly, the drippings from lamps are placed around the edges of walrus holes in order to make the walrus return to these holes, and suction of a gull's feather dipped in oil drippings, followed by expectoration into the holes, is supposed to keep from the walrus the knowledge of the hunter's approach. Common to the Central and Smith Sound Eskimos is the belief in artificial monsters endowed with life in order to effect the destruction of their maker's enemies. These *tupilak* are driven away by the protective qualities of oil and lampblack, as well as by magical whips formed of the skin of a male wolf or the bone of a bear, the latter being used particularly for the protection of children. An interesting amulet of quite different character is used to drive away thunder: the skin of a stillborn seal is made into a jacket, which must be taken off and struck against the ground when thunder is heard.³

Essentially related conceptions appear among the Alaskan Eskimos, of whom the natives of Point Barrow may be selected for consideration. Rudely flaked flint representations of whales are extremely common amulets in this area; they give

good luck in whaling, and are suspended round the neck by a string, or worn on the breast of the jacket. In deer hunting, reliance is placed on the unbranched antler of the reindeer. Personal amulets include bunches of bear or wolverine claws, or the metacarpal bones of the wolf. Possibly corresponding to the use of an eagle's beak on the Greenlander's whaling harpoon is the attachment of a tern's bill to the seal-spear of the Alaskans; Murdoch suggests that the underlying motive is the attempt to give to the spear the surety of a tern's aim. Objects acquire special value through contact with certain persons or supernatural beings. Heavy stone objects, sometimes weighing over two pounds, thus come to be carried about as amulets, and the consecration of ancient implements in this way seems to have done much for the preservation of old specimens of Alaskan material culture.⁴

2. Eastern Indians.—Underlying most of Indian belief is the conception of what the Algonquins call *manitou*, the Sioux, *wakan*. If the Indian experiences an emotional thrill at the sight or sound of an object, this object becomes invested for him with a sacred character—it is recognized as *manitou*.⁵ The relation of the native to the object in a given case is determined by specifically tribal conceptions, or even by individual experiences in visions or dreams. It cannot be doubted that a great number of charms and amulets in North America must be conceived as special cases of the basic *manitou* principle. This appears with great clearness in early accounts of the eastern Indians. The Hurons, we are informed in the *Jesuit Relation* of 1647–48, regarded everything that seemed unnatural or extraordinary as *oky*, i.e. as possessing supernatural virtues. Such objects were kept for good luck. If a Huron had had difficulty in killing a bear or stag, and, after slaying the animal, found a stone or snake in its entrails, the thing found was conceived as the *oky* that endowed the creature with more than ordinary strength, and was henceforth worn as a charm. If, while digging near a tree, a Huron discovered a peculiar stone, he believed that it had been forgotten there by certain demons and called it an *aaskouandy*. Such objects were supposed to change their shape, a stone or snake turning into a hean, a grain of corn, or the talons of an eagle. The owner would become lucky in the chase, in fishing, in trade, and in playing. Dreams decided the particular sphere of the charm's usefulness. Still more powerful were the *onniont*, which were believed to be derived from a sort of serpent that pierced everything in its way—trees, bears, and rocks. On account of their peculiar virtues, they were distinguished as 'genuine *oky*,' and the Hurons were willing to pay the Algonquins exorbitant prices for infinitesimal fragments of *onniont*.⁶ This last case is especially instructive as illustrating the complexity of the psychological processes that must often be assumed to account for the use of a given charm. As the Hurons are said to have obtained all their *onniont* from the Algonquins, their use of it is not directly due to mystic experiences, but to the processes underlying imitation and borrowing. That the Algonquins themselves did not venerate the *onniont*, because they were supposed to be derived from the serpent, is quite clear in the light of modern research into the relation of myth and observance. It is fairly probable that the ultimate reason for the use of *onniont* as charms by the Algonquins is identical with that which prompted

¹ Murdoch, 'The Point Barrow Eskimo,' in *9 RBEW* (1892), pp. 435–441.

² Jones, 'The Algonkin Manitou,' in *JAFI*, 1905, pp. 183–190.

³ Boas, 'The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay,' in *Bull. Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist.* xv. 161–163, 492, 505–508, 515.

⁴ *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cincinnati, 1898–1901), xxxiii. 215.

the Hurons to look upon certain finds as *oky*. Nevertheless we must not shut our eyes to the possibility of another origin. Predominant as was the concept of *manitou* among the Algonquins, the less mystical notions described in connexion with the Eskimos are not lacking. Le Jeune tells of the Montagnais wearing at the bottom of their garments ornaments of bears' claws in order to preclude injury from bears, and to be enabled to kill these animals with greater ease.¹ The unconscious reasoning processes connected with the belief in sympathetic and imitative magic must thus be kept in mind as possible alternatives in the explanation of the application of charms where detailed information is lacking.

The mystic thrill characteristic of a *manitou* experience is often actively sought by means of fasts intended to induce visions, and many amulets, whatever may have been their ultimate origin, are believed to be the direct outcome of the supernatural communications thus received. Thus, if the being which appears to the dreamer is an animal, the skin of the animal may henceforward be carried about as a bringer of good luck; or the visitant may give specific instructions as to the use of certain objects as charms. The foregoing considerations will facilitate some insight into the psychology of many Indian charms, though undoubtedly much must still remain obscure.

To resume our geographical survey: the Algonquin Montagnais, according to Le Jeune's *Relation*, had a number of amulets of rather problematic function. A shaman gave a woman a pattern of a little sack cut in the form of a leg, which she used to make one of leather filled with beaver hair. It was called 'the leg of the *manitou*,' and was hung in the cabin for a long time. Afterwards it passed into the hands of a young man, who wore it suspended from his neck. In the same tribe the slayer of a bear received the 'heart-bone' of the animal, which he carried about his neck in a little embroidered purse.² The Hurons, besides the charms already mentioned in connexion with the *manitou* concept, had charms composed of bear claws, wolf teeth, eagle talons, stones, and dry sinews, all of which were thrown by dancers at one another. The person falling under the charm was supposed to be wounded, and blood poured out of his mouth and nostrils.³ The Iroquois, according to oral communications of Alanson Skinner, still carry about their persons miniature canoes as a safeguard against drowning; and this amulet is used especially by people who have had dreams of drowning. Small clubs were similarly used as war-charms. Small wooden masks ('false faces') are carried about by both sexes, but particularly by pregnant women; small husk-masks are carried about for good luck. Witches and sorcerers often had dolls carved of wood and antler, and sometimes had roots covered with tiny carved faces, which were supposed to impart the power of changing at will from human to animal form. Clay pipes with such faces have been found on ancient Iroquois sites, and may have served the same use. People who have seen the mythical dwarf stone-rollers carve tiny images of these people and keep them as charms. A peculiar love-charm occurring among the western Cree was described to the present writer while he was passing through the territory of this tribe. The lover makes a small effigy both of himself and of the woman he loves, and wraps them up together with some medicinal roots. After a few days the woman thus charmed surrenders herself to the charmer.

In the south-east of the United States the over-

shadowing importance of incantation did not eliminate the use of material charms. Among the Yuchi a small whitish root is carried in a bag to keep away sickness. To the neck of a child there is attached an insect larva sewed tightly in a buckskin covering, decorated on one side with beadwork. The amulet symbolizes a turtle, of which the hind legs and tail are represented by little loops of beads. Its special function is to bring sleep to the wearer, through the use and representation of two creatures that spend much of their life in a dormant condition. Children were shielded from harm by some small white bones wrapped up in buckskin and tied to their necks or hammocks, and such bones also prevented children from crying in the night. Men wore small objects obscurely related to the events in their career, 'in the belief that the things would prove effectual in protecting and guiding them in some way.' War parties of the Creek carried with them bundles of magic herbs and charms. One of the latter was supposed to consist of parts of the horns of a mythical snake that was captured and killed by the people after long-continued suffering from its attacks. These horns were believed to impart immunity from wounds.¹

3. Plains Indians.—Among the warlike aborigines inhabiting the Plains, charms were naturally often associated with martial pursuits. The buffalo-hide shields regularly carried in battle were supposed to owe their efficacy to the medicine objects attached to them or to the designs painted on their outside rather than to their natural properties. The Dakota Sioux were particularly fond of protective shield designs representing supernatural powers. In many of these cases there was a mixture of two motives: on the one hand, the design derived its supernatural power solely from its revelation in a dream or vision, but at the same time there was a symbolical representation of the power desired, which recalls the phenomena of imitative magic. Thus, spiders, lizards, and turtles are frequently represented on war garments, because they are hard to kill, and it was supposed that this property would be transferred to the wearer. In addition to the painted design, a shield might bear a braid of sweetgrass and a buckskin bag with charms. Before going into battle, the Sioux burnt some of the sweetgrass and chanted songs pertaining to the shield.² Among the Assiniboine, war charms were exceedingly common. They were prepared by shamans from ingredients supplied by the prospective wearer, who was also informed in advance of future happenings in battle. One man used the dried and fleshed skin of a bluebird with jack-rabbit ears sewed to its neck, the whole attached to a piece of raw hide painted red. Another warrior might employ a bird skin, a weasel skin, a bonnet of weasel-skin, and a square piece of buffalo hide; still another, a large knife with a bear-bone handle to which were tied little bells and a feather.³ The Gros Ventre often carried their sacred war paraphernalia in cylindrical raw-hide cases. One specimen was painted with designs in colour representing the birds dreamt of by the original owner. The case contained a bag, and in the bag there was a necklace with 'medicine' roots. There were also skins worn at the back of the head to prevent injury, and a bone whistle was blown for the same purpose. If the Gros Ventre dreamt of a man battling successfully

¹ Speck, *Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians* (Philadelphia, 1909), p. 137; 'The Creek Indians of Taskigi Town,' in *Mem. Amer. Anthropol. Assoc.* ii. pt. 2, p. 118.

² Wissler, 'Some Protective Designs of the Dakota,' in *Anthropol. Papers of Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist.* 21-53.

³ Lowie, 'The Assiniboine,' *ib.* iv. 31-33, 58.

¹ *Jesuit Relations*, ix. 117.

² *Id.* vi. 207, 291.

³ *Id.* x. 209.

while wearing the skin of some animal, the same kind of skin was adopted by the dreamer. For a corresponding reason an Assiniboiner once wore a fool-dance costume before entering a fight.¹ Among the Arapaho amulets collected by Kroeber there is a bracelet of badger-skin with a gopher skin, an owl claw, some bells, feathers, seeds, and skin fringes. The badger skin is believed to increase the speed of the rider's horse; the claw helps to seize an enemy; the motion of the feathers drives away the enemy; and the bells represent the noise of the fight. A scaly turtle tail or fish back mounted on stuffed buckskin was worn on the head—the feathers for speed, the hard scales to cause invulnerability.² When an Hidatsa went to war, he always wore the strip off the back of a wolf skin, with the tail hanging down the shoulders. A slit was made in the skin, through which the warrior put his head, so that the wolf's head hung down upon his breast. The head, claws, stuffed skin, or some other representative of his medicine was carried about the person as a protective charm.³

While war-charms are thus seen to have been extremely important among the Plains Indians, daily life was also attended with the use of numerous charms. The wide diffusion of navel amulets bears testimony to this fact. Among the Arapaho, the navel-strings of girls are preserved and sewed into small pouches stuffed with grass. These are usually diamond-shaped and embellished with beadwork, and the girl keeps this amulet on her belt until it is worn out. The Sioux often make navel charms in the form of turtles, the turtle being supposed to preside over the diseases peculiar to women. Similar charms occur among the Assiniboiner.⁴ An elderly Arapaho woman kept a number of pebbles tied up in a bag. Some of them were pointed, others relatively round, the former representing the canine teeth, and the latter the molars. 'The stones, being loose, represent the possessor's wish to reach that period of life.' Three other stones were kept on account of their resemblance to a turtle, a bird, and a skunk, respectively. The turtle stone was said to have been procured from inside a horse's body, and was placed on the abdomen as a cure for diarrhoea. The skunk stone was held in the hand by sick people while sleeping; similarly the bird amulet was placed at the head of the sick. Two curious natural stones were painted red and treasured by the owner in a bag of incense. At the sun-dance, they were exposed and deposited near incense. They were called 'centipedes.' Much of the belief in amulets among the Arapaho seems to centre in sympathetic and imitative magic. Beans of different colours are used to produce colts of certain colours; a smooth and slippery shell aids in delivery; 'beads in the shape of a spider web render the wearer, like the web, impervious to missiles, and at the same time ensure the trapping of the enemy, as insects in a web.'⁵ The symbolism so characteristic of Plains tribes is illustrated by a curious charm worn among the Caddo in the southern part of the Prairie area. It consisted of the polished tip of a buffalo horn, surrounded by a circle of downy red feathers within another circle of badger and owl claws. The owner regarded the charm as the source of his prophetic inspiration. The buffalo horn was 'God's heart,' the red

feathers contained his own heart, and the circle of claws symbolized the world.¹

As perhaps the most typical of hunting charms in this area may be mentioned the Blackfoot *iniskim*, or buffalo rocks. These were usually small ammonites, or sections of baculites, or sometimes oddly shaped flint nodules. They were found on the prairie, and the person who secured one was considered very fortunate. Sometimes a man riding along heard a strange chirp, which made known to him the presence of a buffalo rock. Searching for it on the ground, he would try to discover it. If he failed, he would mark the place and return the next day to resume his quest. The tribal hunt of the buffalo had for its object the driving of the game into an enclosure. On the evening of the day preceding a drive into the corral, a medicine-man possessing an *iniskim* unrolled his pipe and prayed to the Sun for success. The origin of these charms is traced to a mythological period of starvation when a woman encountered a singing buffalo rock, which instructed her to take it home and teach the people its song. As a result of her compliance with these instructions, a great herd of buffalo came, and the Indians were saved.² Several years ago an old Blackfoot of Gleichen, Alberta, unwrapped a bundle for the present writer, disclosing some small stones which he described as *iniskim*. Whenever he was in need of food in the olden days, he explained, he used his *iniskim*, and in consequence never went hungry.

4. Mackenzie and Plateau Areas; California.—Among the Northern Athapascans of the Mackenzie River basin the simplicity of ceremonial life throws into relief the customs attached to everyday pursuits, such as hunting and fishing. The Dogribs carry bunches of antler points while hunting game, because they believe this will aid the wearer in luring deer or moose within range of his rifle, and the same power is ascribed to a piece of birch or a deer's scapula.³ The Chippewayan women cut off a small piece of the newborn child's navel-string and hang it about their necks, presumably for a charm.⁴ Fishing nets always had fastened to them a number of birds' bills and feet, while at the four corners the Chippewayan tied some otter and jackfish toes and jaws. Unless these objects were attached, it was deemed useless to put the net into the water, as it would not catch a single fish. In angling, similar superstitions were observed. The bait used consisted of a combination of charms enclosed within a bit of fish-skin. The objects included fragments of beaver tails and fat, otter vents and teeth, musk-rat guts and tails, loon vents, human hair, etc. The head of every family, as well as other persons, always carried a bundle of these articles, as it was considered absurd to attempt to angle without their aid.⁵

The Thompson, Lillooet, and Shuswap Indians may be taken as representatives of the culture of interior British Columbia. The head of a fool-hen was used by the Thompson Indian as a hunting charm. After praying to it for help, he tossed it up, and took the direction of its beak to indicate that of the game. A second trial of the same kind, if confirmatory of the first, was considered a sure sign of the locality to be visited. That night the charm was placed under the hunter's pillow, with the head pointing in the proper direction.

¹ Mooney, 'The Ghost-Dance Religion,' in *14 RBEW* [1896], p. 904 f.

² Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales* (New York, 1903), pp. 125, 126, 229.

³ Russell, *Explorations in the Far North* (Iowa, 1898), p. 183 f.

⁴ Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal through the Continent of North America* (New York, 1902), i. p. clxxix.

⁵ Hearne, *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean* (London, 1795), pp. 323-330.

¹ Kroeber, 'Ethnology of the Gros Ventre,' *ib. i.* 192-196.

² Kroeber, 'The Arapaho,' in *Bull. Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist.* xviii. 423, 426, 440.

³ J. O. Dorey, 'A Study of Siouan Cults,' in *11 RBEW* [1894], p. 515.

⁴ Kroeber, 'The Arapaho,' pp. 54-58; Wissler, 'Decorative Art of the Sioux Indians,' in *Bull. Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist.* xviii. 241 f.; Lowie, *loc. cit.* p. 25.

⁵ Kroeber, 'The Arapaho,' pp. 441-443, 452 f.

The tail of a snake was worn by grizzly bear hunters to ward off danger while hunting their game. It was fastened to the belt, to the string of the short pouch or powder-horn, or to the bow or gun itself. If a deer had been wounded, but not severely enough to be readily overtaken, the skin of a mouse was laid on the tracks. A deer thus charmed could not travel far, but soon perished. By chewing deer-sinew, a hunter could cause the sinews of a wounded deer to contract so that it could be easily overtaken. Gamblers' wives suspended an elongated stone above their husbands' pillows. To put an end to bad luck, a woman turned it rapidly round, thereby causing a reversal of luck. To secure luck at gambling, she might also drive a peg into the ground near their pillows, or sit on a fresh fir-bench during the game. These Indians made a rather obscure distinction between 'male' and 'female' plants. For a love-charm, the male and female of some plant were tied together with a hair from the head of the parties concerned, and buried in a little hole. Another charm for a similar purpose also consisted of the male and female of a plant, but these were mashed fine and mixed with red ochre. The charmer repaired to running water at sunset or daybreak, painted a minute spot on each cheek with the mixture, prayed to the plant for success, and finally sewed the charm up in a buckskin bag worn on the person. This charm was employed by both sexes. If not properly prepared, it might cause insanity in either the charmer or the charmed individual. Some men used the heart of a fool-hen to attract women. The love-charms of the Lillooet were quite similar to those just described. The Shuswap frequently obtained plants from the Thompson and Okanagan Indians, especially one plant with a strong odour and emitting a kind of steam. It was worn on the person as a necklace during the day, and placed under the pillow at night. Before sleep, the charmer must think of the woman coveted and pray that she might love him as a result of the plant's power. The same plant was used to scent a present to the woman loved; and if a man carried it about while walking against the wind, the women were forced to follow him. The Shuswap rubbed another plant on the brow or the soles of the feet to ensure luck in hunting, and wore snakes' tails to prevent headaches. A child's amulet in use among the Thompson Indians consisted of the piece of the infant's navel-string outside the ligature, which was sewed up in a piece of embroidered buckskin. This was tied to a buckskin band round the head of the cradle, and was decorated with numerous appendages. If the piece of navel-string was not found, or was lost, the child became foolish, or was likely to be lost during a journey or hunting trip. Branches of wild currant in the bottom of the cradle tended to quiet a child, while the dried tail or lower part of a silver salmon's backbone prevented frequent micturition.¹

The Plateau region south of the Salish tribes just discussed was occupied by the Nez Percé and Shoshonean tribes. The Nez Percé frequently made use of charms, which generally consisted of small stones of odd shape or colour. Stones with holes were deemed especially powerful in bringing good luck, and a boy who found a curious stone might carry it on his person for life. Rarely these stones were carved or artificially modified. Bear claws and wolf teeth were worn about the neck as charms. An old Indian was found to wear a gypsum spear-head suspended about his neck. Shamans sometimes carved their stone amulets, one

of which, reproduced by Spinden, seems to represent an animal's head.² The Shoshone powdered spruce needles, crammed them into a buckskin bag, and hung the bag round a baby's neck as a preventive of illness. Adults use white weasel skins, buffalo horns and manes, or the foot of a white weasel for the same purpose. A very old woman was found to keep two small fragments of obsidian as eye medicine, though occasionally she used to scratch her arms with them. Some men have a charm enclosed in a little piece of cloth and tied to the middle of either the front or the back of a beaded necklace. In a myth, Coyote overcomes a pursuing rock by extending his arm with a beaded charm on it. Love-charms are popular. One informant wore a weasel foot in his hat in order to 'catch a squaw.' For the same end, shavings of wood or bark are rubbed on the neck, tied up in a bag, or attached to a belt. Similarly, spruce needles are chewed and rubbed on the charmer's head. A certain root is tied to a little stone and thrown at the woman coveted. Several nights elapse, and then the woman comes to visit her lover. This charm has been repeatedly used with success, and has been sold for a dollar and a half. The Wind River Shoshone believe that the tail-feathers of a flicker ward off disease, and that the male of a kind of sage-hen imparts the gifts of a shaman. Weasel skins and feathers served as a protection against missiles. Many roots and other objects were cherished as amulets because they had been revealed to the owner in a vision or dream.³

Among the Hupa of California we again meet with the custom of placing parts of the umbilical cord in a buckskin bag round a baby's neck, where it is kept for years. A small dentalium shell is also tied to the infant's ankle, but must be removed as soon as the mother resumes her customary matrimonial relations. The Maidu in the central part of the State employed various charms for hunting and gambling. Stones found inside a deer were the favourite charms of deer-hunters, who wore them suspended from the neck. Perforated gambling-charms of approximately diamond-shaped surface were similarly suspended, but were stuck in the ground before their owner during a game. Any strangely shaped or coloured object found was picked up and tested as to its powers. Subsequent good luck of any kind was ascribed to its magic potency, and the owner treasured it for the specific use indicated by his experiences. Shamans used charms which they gently rubbed on the seat of pain after the extraction of the pathogenic agent, these charms usually consisting of obsidian knives hung from the neck. The frame of mind that leads to the adoption of certain objects as amulets is well illustrated by the attitude of the Shasta Indians. When a member of the tribe found a type of stone pipe different from that now used, the unfamiliar form was considered as mysterious, and magic functions were ascribed to the find.³

5. North-west Coast.—The Thlinket and Haida may be taken as the principal representatives of old North Pacific Coast culture. Typical primitive hunting-charms was a medicine used by the Thlinket of Alaska to ensure the capture of sea-otters. The prospective hunter was obliged to abstain from intercourse with his wife for an entire month, and was careful not to let any one else touch his chamber-pot. At the expiry of this

¹ Spinden, 'The Nez Percé Indians,' in *Mem. Amer. Anthropol. Assoc.* ii. pt. 3, p. 260.

² Lowie, 'The Northern Shoshone,' in *Anthropol. Papers of Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist.* ii. pt. 2, pp. 224, 225, 229 f., 263.

³ Goddard, *Life and Culture of the Hupa* (Berkeley, 1903), pp. 51, 52; Dixon, 'The Northern Maidu' (*Bull. Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist.* xvii. pt. 3), pp. 139, 266, 267, and 'The Shasta' (*ib.* pt. 5), p. 302.

¹ Teit, 'The Thompson Indians of British Columbia,' in *Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, i. 304, 308, 371-372, 'The Lillooet Indians,' and 'The Shuswap,' *ib.* ii. 291, 619.

period he killed an eagle, detached the foot, and tied to it a flower called 'grabbing medicine.' Next he made a model canoe with a figure of himself in the act of aiming at a sea-otter. The eagle's talon was made to clasp the seat in order to ensure good aiming. When approaching the sea-otter, the hunter blew some of his urine towards it, this being intended to confuse the animal and cause it to swim in his direction. If a man had infringed the nuptial tabu, his arm would shake and he would miss his quarry. In the case just cited the significance of the medicine employed is obscured by the number of regulations connected with its successful use. Of these, the application of imitative magic in the construction of the canoe is of special interest. In another Thlinket hunting-charm, sympathetic magic plays the dominant part. In order to shoot a doe the hunter removed hairs from the pubic region of a doe already slain, fastened them to the 'grabbing medicine,' and attached both to the barrel of his gun. Waving this as he approached his game, he would succeed in enticing the animal towards him. Corresponding notions enter into the practices incident to avenging the murder of a friend: the person seeking revenge wrapped up a bundle of a certain plant with an effigy of his enemy, thus securing his destruction.¹

The Haida lover fasted, sought a certain kind of medicine, rubbed it upon his palms, and then put it upon the person or the clothing of the woman desired in marriage. Complete sets of observances were connected with this love-charm, of which the following is typical. The lover fasted from two to five days, then went to a salmon-creek, removed his clothes, and looked for spruce cones. If he found two old cones lying near each other and half sticking in the ground, he seized one with each hand, pronounced his own name as well as the woman's, and declared whether he merely loved her or wished to marry her. This statement was repeated four times in an increasingly loud tone of voice. Then the man went into the creek until the water was on a level with his heart, put both cones as far upstream as he could, let them float towards him, again seized one in each hand, and repeated aloud what he wanted. After three repetitions of this act, he took the cones into the woods, made a pillow, laid one on each end of it, and covered them with leaves of the salal-berry bush, mentioning his wish four times more. Then he went home, broke his fast, and waited for the woman's message of love. A curious charm for acquiring riches had to be obtained by theft in order to act efficaciously. It consisted of a sheet-copper figure, which was guarded with great secrecy. To make it work, the owner stuffed the space between the front and back plates of the charm with stolen clippings from articles of value. Thus crammed, it was hidden in the box containing the owner's blankets and clothing. Whether it was ever directly addressed in prayer seems to be subject to doubt.²

6. South-west.—Among the Apaches numerous varieties of charms were in vogue. Captain John G. Bourke was impressed with the very general occurrence of little buckskin bags, usually attached to the belts of the warriors and guarded with great care by their wearers. Inspection of the bags disclosed a quantity of yellow powder, the *hoddentin*, or pollen of the tule (a variety of the cat-tail rush), for which some pulverized galena was sometimes substituted. The use of these substances in connexion with war amulets is but a special instance of their ceremonial employment by the Apaches.

Both served as a face-paint and as offerings to the cosmic forces, and each phase of everyday life was accompanied by a sprinkling of *hoddentin*. The first act of an Apache on rising was to blow a pinch of the pollen to the dawn. A bag of *hoddentin* was secured to every baby's neck or cradle; at the girls' puberty ceremonies the powder was thrown to the sun and strewn about the novices; patients were sprinkled with the pollen in cases of serious illness; and the dead bodies were subjected to similar treatment. When starting on a hunt, when commencing the planting of corn, or when seeking to propitiate animals viewed with religious veneration, the Apaches uniformly made their offerings of *hoddentin*. Galena, while reserved for occasions of special solemnity, was used in essentially similar circumstances. The ceremonial significance of both substances accounts for the fact that no Apache warrior would go on the war-path without his buckskin bag of *hoddentin* or galena.¹ A still more distinctly talismanic character was, however, ascribed to the *izze-kloth*, or sacred cords. These were simply cords decorated with beads and shells, bits of sacred malachite, wood, claws, *hoddentin* bags, or splinters of lightning-riven wood. Only the shamans of highest standing could make them, and on occasions of extraordinary moment the medicine-man wore them hanging from the right shoulder over the left hip. 'These cords will protect a man while on the warpath, and many of the Apache believe firmly that a bullet will have no effect upon the warrior wearing one of them.' This did not by any means, however, exhaust the value of the *izze-kloth*, for their owner was enabled to cure the sick, to help along the crops, and to determine the thief of his own or his friends' property.² These additional virtues connect the cords with sacred objects of quite different construction. Thus, the wearer of a buckskin medicine-hat could tell who had stolen ponies, foretell the future, and was able to aid in the cure of the sick. A flat piece of lath decorated with drawings of a human figure and snake-heads was believed to indicate the right direction to travel, to bring rain in case of drought, and to show where stolen ponies had been taken.

The Navahos, nearest of kin to the Apaches in point of habitat and linguistic affiliation, and, like them, intermediary between the Pueblo and Prairie cultures, also make use of an abundance of charms. Indeed, even their deities are thought to possess charms, and the very sacredness of their character is often derived from the possession of such articles. If a man escapes from danger unscathed, the natural conclusion is that his charm must be strong. The mythological sons of the Sun, before setting out on the perilous journey to their father, secure for their talisman feathers plucked from a live bird. Such feathers are supposed to preserve life, and are used in all the rites. Hastseyalti, the most important deity impersonated in the tribal Chant ceremony, is represented with his healing talisman—four willow sticks attached to one another so that they may be readily spread into a quadrangle and folded up again. In the ceremony the actor approaches the patient, opens his talisman to its quadrangular form, and places it four times around the sufferer's body. The veneration for pollen so marked among the Apaches is equally characteristic of the Navahos. Pollen, both of the cat-tail and of other plants, is considered emblematic of peace, prosperity, and happiness, and is believed to secure these blessings. It is generally kept in buckskin bags, carried alike by priests and laymen. A stone fetish of a horse is at

¹ Swanton, 'The Tlingit Indians,' in *26 RBEW* (1908), p. 447 f.

² Swanton 'Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida,' in *Jeep North Pacific Expedition*, v. pt. 1, p. 46f.

¹ Bourke, 'The Medicine-Men of the Apache,' in *9 RBEW* (1892), pp. 500-507, 548.

² *Ib.* pp. 550-553.

times fed with pollen to ensure good luck to the herds.¹

The difficulty of classifying religious phenomena by the aid of current concepts becomes obvious in a consideration of the Pueblo area. According to Zuñi mythology, the twin sons of the Sun, after leading mankind from their infernal abodes to the world now occupied by them, once more took pity on men, and, in order to stay an undue multiplication of their natural enemies, transformed animals of prey into stones. Natural concretions or strangely eroded rocks resembling animals are looked upon, in harmony with these mythological beliefs, as representatives of the undying spirits of the prey-animals. The success of beasts of prey is ascribed to a magical force by which they cast a spell upon their quarry. Their power is preserved in the petrifications, which are, therefore, venerated as 'fetishes.' Guarded by special officers when not in use, the fetishes are assembled, sprinkled with prayer-meal, and supplicated by members of certain societies at a New Year's festival, while corresponding solemnities precede the great tribal hunts. The use of fetishes in the chase is deemed indispensable to success; only by their supernatural efficacy is man believed capable of overcoming the otherwise unconquerable larger game. Few hunters, accordingly, set out without a fetish, which is carried in a little buckskin bag suspended over the left breast. In the course of his journey, various ceremonies must be observed by the hunter. The fetish is taken out and addressed in prayer, and is ultimately restored to its keeper.

Complicated as the usages referred to appear when compared with those ordinarily attached to amulets, it seems artificial to separate them psychologically from ordinary charms. Such charms are, indeed, by no means lacking among the Zuñi. A person finding a concretion suggesting the prey-gods will regard it as his special 'medicine,' and will almost always prefer it to the other fetishes. A find recalling an organ of the human body is highly prized as the phallus of some ancient being, and becomes a charm in matters sexual: the young man will use it as a love-charm, the young woman to ensure male offspring. Another object may be interpreted as the relic of a god's tooth or weapon, and is entrusted to the custody of the warrior order. A little of it rubbed on a stone and mixed with much water is considered a powerful protection in battle, and is accordingly used by the warrior as an unguent before entering battle. A somewhat intermediate position seems to be held by the so-called war-fetishes. Roughly resembling the hunting fetishes, not only in appearance but in the rites attached to their employment, they are akin to amulets in being constantly carried about by the owners. An arrow point placed on the back of these fetishes seems to have a purely protective character; it is emblematic of the Knife of War, and is believed to shield the wearer from the enemy from behind or from unexpected quarters. The root idea in all these fetishes is apparently nothing but that of the Algonquin *manitou*. Objects of extraordinary appearance—petrifications, in the case at hand—impose on the beholder a condition of emotional exaltation which leads to their being regarded as sacred. Experiences of this sort are assimilated with the pre-existing mythological conceptions; the existence of the petrifications is interpreted in the light of the transformer cycle. Finally, the systematizing tendency of priestly speculation sets in, unifying relevant beliefs into the dogma that all fetishes are traceable to the same origin. 'It is supposed

by the priests of Zuñi that not only these, but all true fetishes, are either actual petrifications of the animals they represent, or were such originally.' Parallel with the development of these theoretical views goes the association of the amulets with established ceremonial observances. The rites connected with the use of a fetish by the Zuñi warrior or hunter are only the reflexion of the ceremonialism characteristic of Zuñi life; the fetishes are merely amulets saturated with the culture of a Pueblo people.¹

7. Mexico.—The complexity of religious life in ancient Mexico tends to eclipse the importance of amulets, yet their significance in the everyday life of these people is established beyond doubt. Thus, the Mexicans believed that neither an *enceinte* woman nor her husband might walk about at night; in the former case, the child would cry incessantly, in the latter it would be smitten with heart disease. To guard against these disasters, the prospective mother took care to carry with her some small pebbles, some ashes from her fireplace, or a little native incense, while the father used small stones or tobacco. Ashes seem to have been carried especially in order to prevent the sight of ghosts. Great value was attached to parts of the body of a woman who had died in childbirth. Soldiers cut off the woman's hair and the middle finger of her left hand, and carried them on the inside of their shields to the field of battle. They believed that such charms would render their owners intrepid, and would ensure the capture of enemies. Blanket vendors used as a charm the hand of a female monkey, being convinced that, thus armed, they would readily dispose of their wares on market days. Hucksters who had failed to sell their commodities put two kinds of spices with them on returning home at night, declaring that 'after eating of the spices' the wares would allow themselves to be sold more readily than before.² The magicians of Simaloa carefully guarded some translucent stones in a little leather pouch.³ Among the modern Aztecs some superstitious practices have survived to the present day. Mothers hang little pouches with *chapopoti*, or bitumen, about their children's necks to guard them against disease and injury; sometimes the bags may be worn in pairs at the wrists. The *chapopoti* is purchased of Indian dealers in medicinal herbs.⁴ See, further, 'Mexican and Mayan' section of this article.

8. South America.—Our knowledge of South American ethnography does not yet permit a systematic discussion of the charms employed within this immense territory. All that can be attempted is to cull a few characteristic examples from some of the areas hitherto studied.

In the West Indies—ethnologically a part of South America—warriors going into battle attached to their foreheads finely carved objects of stone, shell, or bone perforated for suspension from the person, and stone amulets are particularly common in archaeological collections. Many of them are representations of the human form, others are effigies of animals, while some show partly human, partly theromorphic traits. The amulets of human form may be subdivided into two principal types—one characterized by the elevation of the arms and hands to, or above, the level of the ears; the other distinguished by the mummy-like juxtaposition of the legs. Whether the golden breast ornaments reported to have been worn by

¹ Cushing, 'Zuñi Fetiches,' in *2 RBEW* [1883], pp. 9-45.

² Sahagun, *Uist. gen. des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne* (Paris, 1880), pp. 310-313, 434.

³ Gerste, *Notes sur la médecine et la botanique des anciens Mexicains* (Rome, 1909), p. 33.

⁴ Starr, 'Notes upon the Ethnography of Southern Mexico' (*Proc. Davenport Academy of Natural Science*, 1900), p. 19.

¹ Matthews, 'Navaho Legends,' *Mem. Amer. Folk-Lore Society*, v. [1897] 109, 192, 249, 250, 'The Night Chant, a Navaho Ceremony,' in *Mem. Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist.* vi. 10, 58, 69, 41-34.

chiefs combined the function of amulets with that of insignia of authority it is impossible to determine at the present day. Stones extracted by a shaman from the body of his patient as pathogenic intruders were highly prized and carefully stowed away in little baskets; they were deemed especially valuable in helping women in labour. It is possible that, besides the frontal war amulets, larger figures were likewise attached to the top of the head.¹

The burial grounds of Las Guacas on the Pacific coast of Costa Rica have yielded an unusually large number of amulets. Most of these are celt-shaped, some being plain celts with one or, more rarely, two perforations, while others represent human and bird forms. In the anthropomorphic amulets the head is shown *en face*, the eyes being usually indicated by means of two circular drilled pits, which are often united by a transverse groove. The upper arms are parallel with the body, while the forearms are horizontal, the hands either meeting on the abdomen or being placed one a little above the other. Usually only the upper half of the body is sculptured, but a few of the charms show the entire figure. The ornithomorphic amulets represent exclusively parrots and (less frequently) owls. According to Hartman, the crests and ear-tufts of the bird are generally emphasized by the artist, but in many cases the conventionalism is such that the bird-like features wholly disappear. Amulets perforated for suspension in a horizontal position include alligator and fish forms.²

Of the ornaments worn by the Peruvians, the necklace consisting of puma teeth, human teeth, bones of monkeys, and birds' beaks may have served as an amulet.³ In southern Peru and Bolivia a class of Indians, presumably connected with the Callahuayas to be mentioned below, gather and hawk objects of medicinal and talismanic virtue. The tapir's claws served to prevent sickness, while the teeth of poisonous snakes, carefully fixed in leaves and stuck into the tubes of rushes, are regarded as specifics against headache and blindness.⁴ The greatest interest attaches to the *canopas* used by the ancient Chimu of Peru. They differed from the communal *huaca* in being the property of a single family or of an individual. In the former case they descended from father to son, in the latter they were buried with their owners. An Indian finding any stone of extraordinary shape or colour immediately sought the advice of a shaman. If the latter declared the object to be a *canopa*, it was at once treated with superstitious regard. Some *canopas* consisted of bezoar stone (*quicu*), others were little crystals (*lacas*). There were special *canopas* of maize and potatoes, and some, in the shape of llamas, served to increase the herds of their owners.⁵

The Araucanians of Chile wear large breast ornaments and heavy chains of disks with pendants consisting of little crosses and human figures, which reflect both Christian and pagan influences.⁶

The Bakairi dwelling on the banks of the Kuli-sehu and Rio Batovy in Central Brazil are very fond of necklaces of shell-disks and beads. These are worn especially by children and by pregnant women, from which fact their talismanic character has been inferred. The chiefs of the Paressi, who inhabit the region north-west of Cuyaba, suspended

about their necks jasper-like polished stones, in the shape of a Maltese cross, which may possibly have been worn as amulets. The Bororo wear breast-ornaments of large jaguar teeth and of small monkey teeth. These ornaments are supposed to increase the strength and skill of the wearer. The teeth and lower jaws of enemies are similarly worn, and the hair of a deceased person is spun and corded, and is then used as an amulet.¹

The Abipones suspended from their neck or arm the tooth of a 'crocodile,' believing that it would prevent them from being bitten by serpents. Little stones found in the stomach of the same animal were pulverized and drunk to alleviate kidney trouble. This superstition is mentioned in this place because it shows a use of stones somewhat different from that of genuine charm-stones, such as have been noted in N. America.²

In the Argentine Republic there has been found a lanceolate stone-amulet with a central rectangular cross enclosing a plain cross of two mutually perpendicular lines. It was intended to be worn about the neck, but Quiroga supposes that it was believed to bring rain.³ The Indians of the Argentine plateaux attach to their fingers, and especially to their little fingers, a string twisted towards the left. This, it is believed, will prevent adversity and disease during the following year. Some individuals tie similar strings to their arms and legs. Archaeological investigation of this region has unearthed numerous *pendeloques*, some of which probably served as charms. One of the smaller finds of this class represents a bird, another consists of the fruit of *Martynia angulata*, with a woollen string by which it was attached to a garment or necklace. Some of the charms are of stone, others of copper, and there has been figured a single *pendeloque* of silver. In the Diagita portion of the territory, triangular and animal-shaped charms have often been discovered. The half-castes now occupying the country still make use of small figures of sculptured white stone representing domestic animals. The carvings (*illas*) serve as talismans to protect the herds of cattle or llamas against every kind of danger and to ensure their multiplication. Another sort of *illa* frequently found consists of a hand enclosing a baton-shaped object; the interior of the hand is sometimes decorated with a circle symbolizing money, and the charm as a whole is believed to bring wealth to its possessor. All these charms are obtained from itinerant Aymara medicine-men called *callahuayas*, who reside in the villages of Charazani and Curva, in the Province of Muñecas, Bolivia.⁴

In the Bandelier collection of the American Museum of Natural History, there are a number of *callahuaya* charms deserving some brief description. A dirty rag containing a piece of alabaster, a bit of llama tallow, and bits of a plant (*uira koua*) is used for finding treasures, and a piece of alabaster with some yellow vegetable substance, very small black seeds, a red and black berry, bits of mica and gold leaf, serves the same purpose. To keep wealth already secured, the *callahuayas* peddle alabaster carved to represent a hand holding a circular object, bits of gold leaf and mica, and very small black seeds. A charm intended to unite those engaged to be married and to render them wealthy, consists of a piece of alabaster carved into two hands, bits of thin gold, silver, and mica, and very small black seeds.

¹ Fewkes, 'The Aborigines of Porto Rico and Neighboring Islands,' in *25 REW* (1907), pp. 138-148, 192f., 196.

² Hartman, *Archaeol. Researches on the Pacific Coast of Costa Rica* (Pittsburg, 1907), pp. 60-81.

³ Wiener, *Pérou et Bolivie* (Paris, 1880), p. 666.

⁴ Von Tschudi, *Travels in Peru* (New York, 1854), p. 230.

⁵ Squier, *Peru* (New York, 1877), p. 189.

⁶ Bürger, *Acht Lehr- und Wanderjahre in Chile* (Leipzig, 1909), p. 81.

¹ Von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 182-184, 425, 479.

² Dobrizhoffer, *An Account of the Abipones* (London, 1822), il. 258.

³ Quiroga, *La Cruz en America* (Buenos Ayres, 1901), p. 195.

⁴ Boman, *Antiq. de la région andine de la République Argent. et du désert d'Atacama* (Paris, 1908), pp. 131-133, 373, 513, 621-630, 656, 749.

Résumé.—A few words will suffice to sum up the essential traits of North and South American charms. While in a considerable number of cases the reasons for assigning special potency to a given object are far from clear, two main principles have operated in a majority of the cases cited, and seem sufficient to account for the phenomena not yet definitely known to fall under the same head. (1) We have found the principle of symbolic magic, which is particularly prominent among the Eskimos. (2) We have had to reckon with the *manitou* principle—the fact that objects which happen to produce on the beholder a curious psychological effect are credited with supernatural power. Naturally objects revealed during a conscious effort to secure some power belong to the same category. So far as the American field is concerned, the theory, recently broached, that amulets and charms are degenerate fetishes—fetishes that retain their supposedly magical power but are no longer the objects of a distinct cult—does not seem to hold. Not only do Pechuel-Loesche's recent investigations in Africa tend to efface the line separating fetishes from other magico-religious objects, but among the Zuni, where conditions are especially favourable for a comparison, the 'fetishes' have been found to be nothing but specialized forms of magical objects. As for charms and amulets in general, it must be apparent that they also do not form a distinct unit from a psychological point of view, but are merely magical articles worn on the person.

LITERATURE.—This is given in the footnotes.

ROBERT H. LOWIE.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Assyr.-Bab.).—In discussing Assyr. charms it is exceedingly difficult to avoid repetition of incantations which are properly included under Medicine. The writer of the present article has therefore touched as lightly as possible on the purely medical texts, referring the reader to the article DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Assyr.-Bab.) for this branch of the subject, and has attempted to describe only those which are less obviously prescriptions for sickness. But it is almost impossible to draw a distinct line, since many of the ailments in ancient times were attributed to the magic of sorcerers, the attacks of demons, or the wrath of the gods; and even the simple medical tablets, which prescribe in the baldest manner the quantities of various drugs to be used as remedies, are not without incantations of the most superstitious kind.

The hostile wizard or witch is described by some such words as *kaššapu*, *epistu*, and *muštepistu*, which are never used for the more legitimate quacksalvers. On the other hand, it was quite permissible to 'lay a ban' in no underhand manner, for the 'sabbaths' in the Assyrian hemerology texts (*WAI* iv. 32) are described as being unfitted for making a curse. But the methods for casting such spells as love-charms or hatred-charms appear to be wanting in the tablets hitherto discovered. After all, these charms belong to an order of magicians lower than the official priesthood, and it is more natural that the writings of the latter class should have come down to us.

The eight tablets of the series *Maḫlu* ('Burning') are devoted to charms which have been written counter to the machinations of hostile wizards and witches. The man who imagines himself bewitched repairs presumably to the nearest friendly wise-man or wise-woman for aid in working magic which shall defeat his oppressor. The whole series constitutes such a *grimoire* of spells that it is well worth examining in detail.

First, the victim of the wizard's malignity makes invocation to the 'gods of night,' and then lays before them his troubles:

'For a witch hath bewitched me,
A sorceress hath cast her spell upon me,
My god and my goddess cry aloud over me,
Over the sickness (? deafness) wherewith I am stricken.
I stand sleepless night and day,
For they have choked my mouth with harbs,
And with *upuntu* have stopped my mouth,
So that they have lessened my drink.
My joy hath turned to grief, and my delight to mourning.
Rise up, then, O ya great gods, and hear my plaint,
Grant me a hearing, and take cognizance of my way.
I have made a figura of the man or woman who hath bewitched me.'

There appears to be an echo of one of these lines in the Talmud. If a person meet witches, he should say, among other invectives, 'May a potsherd of boiling dung be stuffed into your mouths, you ugly witches' (*Mo'ed Katan*, fol. 18, col. i., quoted by Hershon, *A Talmudic Miscellany*, London, 1880, p. 49). It is possible, too, that there is a connexion between this and another passage in the *Maḫlu* (Tablet viii. 87-88): 'Make two meals of dung (?), one each for the figures of sorcerer and sorceress, and make invocation over the food.' This, however, depends on the translation 'dung' for the Assyr. word *li* (Thompson, *Sem. Magic*, p. 203).

In the lines quoted from the *Maḫlu* series the hostile magician is evidently credited with having made a waxen image of the suppliant, which has been subjected to the treatment described in lines 6-8 (lines 9-11 of the tablet). The counter-method of making an image of the magician is consequently resorted to, and various rituals are performed, after which the bewitched man ends the first division of his charm with the words spoken against the sorceress:

'Her knot is loosed, her works are brought to nought,
All her charms fill the open plain,
According to the command which the gods of night have spoken.'

The 'knot' refers to the usual practice of tying knots during the repetition of an incantation (see DISEASE AND MEDICINE [Assyr.-Bab.]). The next is a short invocation:

'Earth, earth, O earth,
Gilgames is lord of your *tabu*.
Whatever ye do, I know;
But what I do, ye know not;
All that the women who have bewitched me have done
Is annulled, loosed, undone, and is not.'

Two late Hebrew charms from a book which the writer obtained in Mosul (*PSBA*, 1907, p. 330, nos. 93 and 94) show a similarity to this use of 'binding' and 'loosing':

'To bind a man against his wife.—Write these names on a parchment, and bury them between two graves: "In the name of Saphriel, 'Azriel, Oabriel, Serikiel, that ye bind and fetter N., son of N., that he be not able to have union with his wife N., daughter of N., Si Sid 'Irt Wasgitt Wawrh Wtr Wrrgit, bind and fetter N., son of N.; and let no man have power to loose him from the bond until I loose it myself, and he shall feel no love towards N., daughter of N.; bind and fetter him.'"

'To loosen a bond.—Let him write his name and the name of his mother on parchment, and let him carry the parchment on his person, and hang it round his neck. And this is what he shall write: "Hu Hut Nptl Nptl Krat Krat Mk Ytun Kt Lub Ntl Ubkl Tob Mn Mn Mar Pnr Ksp Ksp Tor Tor—by the purity of these names (I adjure you) that ye loose all limbs of N., son of N., towards N., daughter of N.'"

The lines in the *Maḫlu* quotations indicating that the patient knows his enemy's movements are in accord with the usual practice of magic in this respect. The next step is apparently to recite the following over something that serves as the model of a village:

'My city is *Sappan*, my city is *Sappan*,
There are two gates to my city *Sappan*,
One to the east and one to the west,
One towards the rising sun and one towards the setting sun.'

The procedure described in the lines that follow is to perform a ritual of shutting up the city, that the sorcery may be excluded from the bewitched man's abode (for a parallel to this method of making a model house in magic, see Victor Henry,

La Magie dans l'Inde antique, Paris, 1904, p. 142, which is quoted in Thompson, *op. cit.* p. xxviii). Ultimately the little figures of the hostile wizard are burnt, with appropriate and exceedingly long incantations to the fire-god. With this ritual the first tablet ends.

The second tablet continues this procedure, and defines the material of which the images of the sorcerer shall be made, with the proper invocation for each. Tallow, bronze, dung (?), clay, bitumen, bitumen overlaid with plaster, clay overlaid with tallow, and various woods are among the components prescribed.

The third tablet begins with a description of the witch:

'The witch who roameth about the streets,
Entering the houses,
Prowling about the towns,
Going through the broad places;
She turneth backwards and forwards,
She standeth in the street and turneth back the feet;
In the market-square she hindereth passage;
She snatcheth away the love of the well-favoured man.
She taketh the fruit of the well-favoured maiden.
By her glance she carrieth away her desire;
She looketh upon a man and taketh away his love,
She looketh upon a maiden and taketh away her fruit.'

After this description of the witch, the bewitched man is shown how to combat her evil with various rituals.

The fifth tablet begins with a similar description of the hostile wise-woman:

'The sorceress and witch
Sit in the shadow of the house-wall,
They sit there working magic against me,
And making figures of me.
Now I am sending against thee *hultappan*-plant and sesame,
I will annul thy sorcery and turn back thy charms in thy mouth.'

Enough has been quoted to show the methods used in this exceedingly primitive but wide-spread practice of wax-figure magic.

In working any magic of this kind, it was of great advantage to have secured something belonging to the intended victim. The first tablet of the *Makku* shows this clearly (131 ff.):

'Those (witches) who have made images in my shape,
Who have likened them unto my form,
Who have taken of my spittle, plucked out my hair,
Torn my garments, or gathered the cast-off dust of my feet,
May the warrior Fire-god dissolve their spell.'

All these ingredients of a charm are so well known to anthropologists that it is unnecessary to quote parallel instances from either savage or civilized nations.

From these incantations over waxen figures of a living man the transition to similar images made to lay a ghost is easy. The principle is the same:

'When a dead man appeareth unto a living man . . . thou shalt make [a figure] of clay, and write his name on the left side with a stylus. Thou shalt put it in a gazelle's horn and its face . . . and in the shade of a caper-bush or in the shade of a thorn-bush thou shalt dig a hole and bury it: and thou shalt say . . .' (*PSBA* xxviii. 227).

A ritual for the same is also prescribed in a tablet (K. 1293, Harper, *Letters*, 1900, no. 461) which begins: 'The figure of the dead man in clay.' There are other charms to avert the evil of returning ghosts, which need not be quoted here (*PSBA* xxviii. 223 ff.; Thompson, *op. cit.* p. 32 ff.).

Just in the same way the Babylonians believed that sorcery might break out in a house (*WAI* iv. 59. 1), and part of the charm against it runs as follows:

'Break the bonds of her who hath bewitched me,
Bring to nought the mutterings of her who hath cast spells upon me.
Turn her sorcery to wind,
Her mutterings to air;
All that she hath done or wrought in magio
May the wind carry away!
May it bring her days to ruin and a broken heart,
May it bring down her years to wretchedness and woe!
May she die, but let me recover;
May her sorcery, her magio, her spells be loosed,
By command of Ea, Šamaš, Marduk,
And the Princess Bēlīt-ili.'

(For the possible connexion of the remainder of this text with the Levitical 'house in which leprosy breaks out,' see Thompson, *op. cit.* p. 187.)

Another ritual in connexion with buildings is that published by Weissbach (*Bab. Miscellen*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 32 ff.) for the re-building of a temple when it has fallen.

We now come to what may be considered as amulets proper—objects with a prophylactic significance which are to be hung up in some exposed position or carried on the person. The most obvious are probably those with charms written upon them, so that there is no doubt as to their meaning; and these have actually been found in the excavations of Assyrian sites. There are two such made of clay and inscribed with the legend of Ura, the plague-spirit, in the British Museum; and these are pierced laterally in order that they may be hung up on the wall of a house (L. W. King, *ZA* xi. 50; for others, see Thompson, *op. cit.* p. 85). In the Babylonian room of the British Museum is exhibited the upper half of a similar tablet in stone, probably dating from the 7th cent. B.C., with two figures in relief. The one on the left is that of the well-known lion-headed spirit, with weapon upraised, while that on the right is some god. Above them in a separate register are the emblems of the moon, sun, and Venus, and a head-dress (the symbol of Anu) (no. 1074-91899; on the head-dress being the symbol of Anu, see Frank, *LSS* ii. 2, 8). Another (Case H, No. 231) is a bronze plaque pierced for hanging up on a wall, with a rampant demon in relief.

This is such a common form of exorcism in the East that only a few parallels need be quoted. The Jews in Palestine hang up a paper written in cabalistic Hebrew, together with rue, garlic, and a piece of looking-glass (Masterman, *Bibl. World*, xxii. [1903] 249; see also Scott-Moncrieff, *PSBA* xxvii. [1905] 28, for a photograph of a Hebrew amulet of this nature from Morocco). In Asia Minor the writer was presented with one of two amulets written in Arabic on small scraps of paper and nailed to the doorpost of an inner chamber of a house ('A Journey by some unmapped Routes of the Western Hittite Country,' *PSBA* xxxii. [1910]).

From these hanging amulets it is no great distance to the little figurines of gods which have been found buried under the thresholds of Assyrian palaces, and were obviously intended to guard the building. Several of them are now in the British Museum (Bab. Room, nos. 996-1009; see the figure in G. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, London, 1883, p. 78). Another form of them, although exactly how it was used is uncertain, is the bronze demon-figure (Bab. Room, no. 574) pictured on the frontispiece of Thompson's *Devils and Evil Spirits*. This is a lion-headed human figure with the right arm raised; the feet and right hand are missing, but there is no doubt that it is the same spirit as is portrayed on the stone amulet (no. 1074) mentioned above. Now this same figure is found on the Nineveh sculptures and elsewhere (*RA*, new ser. xxxviii. [1879]; Frank, 'Babylonische Beschwörungsreliefs' [*LSS* iii. 3], cf. art. DISEASE; King, *Bab. Rel.* p. 39), where a pair of them are apparently attacking each other. They have exactly the same lion-heads and human bodies, and their feet are birds' claws; the upraised right hands brandish daggers, and the left hands, held close to the side, hold maces. It is possible that the two are intended to be in alliance against a common foe, only that the exigencies of Assyrian technique, which forbade a sculptor to represent any one full face, have compelled the artist to present them in this guise. At any rate, the reason for the presence of such a sculpture in the palace of Ashurbanipal seems to be much the same as that which induces the ordinary householder to hang up his little amulet near the door. It is naturally on a larger scale, but it serves the same purpose (for a long discussion of this scene, see Frank, *LSS* iii. 3, 49 ff.). Indeed, the figures of

the winged bulls at the great gates are nothing more than protecting amulets, and they are described in the Assyrian texts as such (*WAI* ii. 67, r. 29).

Several demons or protecting spirits of this class are mentioned in the cuneiform tablets, and full directions for their position in the house are given in a ritual tablet published by Zimmern (*Ritualtafel*, Leipzig, 1901, p. 168 f.).

From the inscribed house-amulets the transition is easy to uninscribed objects which have a magical virtue, such as the rue and garlic mentioned above. One of the Assyrian incantations against a demon shows the same precautions taken as in the Hebrew charm:

Fleabane (?) on the lintel of the door I have hung,
St. John's wort (?), caper (?), and wheat-ears
On the latch I have hung' (Thompson, *Devils*, i. 137).

Now, if the plant *pir'u* (which may be the Syriac *per'a*, 'hypericum') be really the St. John's wort, this charm will be found to be the forerunner of many mediæval superstitions. Frazer says (*GB* iii. 334) that

'gathered on Midsummer Eve, or on Midsummer Day before sunrise, the blossoms are hung on doorways and windows to preserve the house against thunder, witches, and evil spirits. . . . During the Middle Ages the power which the plant notoriously possesses of banishing devils won for it the name of *fuga demonum*.'

Frank, however (*LSst* iii. 3, 36-38), translates *pir'u*, 'Schössling.'

Another form of Assyrian house-amulet was the clay list, many specimens of which have been found in excavating the palaces (B. M. Bab. Room, nos. 867-875), and they are presumably the origin of the hand which decorates the walls of the modern houses in the East (see the chapter on 'Amulets' in Fossey's *La Magie assyrie*. pp. 104-121).

In the same way amulets were carried on the person among the ancient Assyrians. In the cuneiform series written against the *Labartu* (some kind of female demon who attacks children), the tablets actually prescribe an incantation which is to be written on a stone and hung round the neck of a child exposed to her malignity (*WAI* iv. 56, i. 1; Myhrman, *ZA* xvi. 155; for an instance of such an amulet, discovered in excavating, see Weissbach, *Bab. Miscellen*, p. 42). The Hebrews have similar charms:

'If thou wishest to protect a young babe from an evil spirit and from the host of Mahalath, write these angels on a tablet of gold in Assyrian writing (*Ashuri*) and carry it with thee, and thou needst not fear any evil either from (for) a big man or a small child' (Gaster, *PSBA*, 1900, p. 340).

Besides these written directions for amulets, the graven sculptures of the Assyrian kings bear testimony to the importance attributed to these phylacteries. It is a common thing to see the kings portrayed with a necklet to which are attached four or five pendants—clearly the sun, moon, Venus, the levin bolt of Adad, and frequently the horned head-dress of Anu (e.g. B. M. Assyrian. Transept, no. 847). The writer has seen worn round the neck of a Persian boy a circlet of silver strung with the crescent moon and two hands, which appear to be the lineal descendants of the thunderbolt of Adad.

It is unnecessary to go deeper into the question of earrings, armlets, etc., in this article. The Assyrian kings wore both earrings and armlets; but whether they did so because they still adhered to the savage idea of protection remains to be proved. Nevertheless, on the upper arm above the elbow, where the Assyrians wore an armlet, the modern Hadendoa wears his leathern purse-amulet, containing its paper charm inscribed in Arabic. We may now pass to certain figurines other than those described above, which have been discovered from time to time in the excavation of Assyrian and Bab. sites. These are, for the most part, of clay,

and are either very crudely fashioned or turned out of moulds (see B. M. Babylonian Room, Wall Cases, 31-40). One of the most frequent is that of a naked female figure holding both breasts. Another is that of a female figure holding a babe; and this appears to be referred to in a cuneiform tablet which gives a detailed description of several mythological beings (Thompson, *Devils*, ii. 147; see *Semitic Magic*, 63):

'The head (has) a fillet and a horn . . . ; she wears a head-ornament; she wears a fly (?); she wears a veil; the fist of a man. She is girt about the loins, her breast is open; in her left arm she holds a babe sucking her breast, inclining towards her right arm. From her head to her loins the body is that of a naked woman: from the loins to the sole of the foot scales like those of a snake are visible; her navel is composed of a circlet. Her name is Nin-tu, a form of the goddess Mab.'

It is quite possible that both these were used by barren women as votive offerings or charms to obtain children.

Of a different class are those fairly common clay heads of demons which are described by Frank (*Rev. d'Assyriol.* vii. [1909] 1). They are about an inch or two high, of hideous aspect, and sometimes inscribed with a long incantation against some power of evil. Lastly, we find what is apparently a wooden image prescribed, with appropriate ritual (Thompson, *Devils*, i. 197):

'Set alight, both in front and behind, a tamarisk *bulduppu* (image ?) of a fiend, whereon is inscribed the name of Ea, with the all-powerful incantation, the incantation of Eridu of Purification.'

See also art. DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Assyrian-Bab.).

LITERATURE.—F. Lenormant, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, Paris, 1874 (Eng. tr., *Chaldean Magic*, London, 1878); A. H. Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, London, 1887, and *Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, London, 1902; K. L. Tallqvist, *Die assyrischen Beschwörungsserie Magat*, Leipzig, 1895; L. W. King, *Bab. Magic and Sorcery*, London, 1896, and *Bab. Religion*, London, 1900; H. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der bab. Religion*, Leipzig, 1896-1901; C. Fossey, *La Magie assyrie*, Paris, 1902; M. Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, Boston, 1898 (Germ. new ed. *Religion Babylonien und Assyrien*, Gießen, 1902 ff.); R. C. Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, London, 1903-4, and *Semitic Magic*, London, 1908.

R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Buddhist).—The use of charms and amulets (*Skr. kavacha*) is universal in Buddhist countries. The custom is most marked in the lands where pure Buddhism has degenerated into Lamaism.

In Northern Buddhist countries almost every man, woman, and child constantly wears an amulet, or string of amulets, round the neck, or on the breast. These amulets are generally ornamental receptacles, sometimes made of copper, wood, or bone, but more frequently of silver, often artistically embossed and jewelled with turquoise. The shape of the amulet varies; it may be square, circular, or curved. Those which are curved round to a point are probably intended to represent the leaf of the sacred fig-tree. These boxes are the receptacles of a variety of charms—the supposed relics of a saint, a few grains of wheat, a torn scrap of a sacred *katag*, a picture, or a prayer formula. The amulet is a prized ornament as well as a trusted charm. The workmanship of these worn by the rich is frequently finished and artistic. The turquoise, which is the only precious stone used for the ornamentation of the amulet, is itself a charm. It is of the lucky colour, and is supposed to avert the evil eye. About a year after the birth of a child a religious ceremony is held, at which prayers are said for its happy life, and an amulet, consisting of a small bag, containing spells and charms against evil spirits and diseases, is suspended from its neck. Women of position in Tibet wear a chatelaine, depending from a small silver casket, which usually contains a charm or charms. When a Tibetan leaves his home to undertake a distant or difficult journey, or on business, a written

charm is not infrequently tied upon the sleeve of his coat, and this is not removed till after his safe return, or the satisfactory accomplishment of his purpose.

As the person of the Northern Buddhist is protected by charms, so is his house. Near the door a prayer-pole is erected, or prayer-flags flutter on the roof; juniper twigs are burnt in earthenware utensils, for demons are supposed to have a particular objection to their smell, and consequently remain at a distance; a collection of pieces of cloth, leaves, and sprigs of willow is prepared to attract the spirits of disease and prevent their crossing the threshold; and a white and blue *swastika*, surmounted by sacred symbols, is drawn upon the doorway. In addition to these charms, which are regarded as efficacious in warding off evil from the Buddhist family, roughly printed prayer formularies, taken from blocks kept in the local monastery, are frequently pasted on the outside of the door or the inner walls of the house.

In Burma the tattooing of the body with mystical squares, cabalistic diagrams, and weird figures seems to be regarded as an effectual charm.

The use of charms, by the priests, in Buddhist worship is common. The *dorje* is a part of the equipment of every monk in Tibet. It is the Skr. *vajra*, or thunderbolt. The original *dorje* is supposed to have fallen direct from Indra's heaven, in the neighbourhood of Lhasa. The imitations are made of bronze and other metals. They are used for exorcizing and driving away evil spirits, especially in the performance of religious ceremonies and prayers. But they are regarded as equally efficacious in warding off evils of all descriptions. The Bodhisattva Vajra-pāni, 'the subduer of evil spirits,' is always represented with a *dorje* in his hand. The *drilbu*, or prayer-bell, with its handle ornamented with mystic symbols, is used in worship, with the twofold object of attracting the attention of good spirits and frightening away evil ones. The *prayer-flags*, which wave outside every Buddhist monastery and almost every house, are inscribed with various prayer formularies, together with figures of the 'flying horse'—Lungta (strictly *rLun-rta* = 'wind-horse'), and other symbols, e.g. the Norbu gem, or 'wishing stone.' Some flags bear the representation of an animal at each corner—the tiger, lion, eagle, and dragon. The prayer-flags are, in most cases, regarded by the peasantry as charms to protect the village from malicious ghosts and demons, who are believed to haunt the atmosphere and swarm everywhere. The *sacred drum*, shaped like two hemispheres joined on their convex sides and encircled by cowrie shells, is also used to frighten away evil spirits, who are regarded as disliking noises of all kinds. The drum is sounded by means of buttons attached to two pendulous strips of leather.

The *phurbu*, or nail, is another weapon used by the lamas against demons. It is generally made of wood. In form it is wedge-shaped and triangular, eight or ten inches long, with the thin end sharp-pointed, and the broad end surmounted with a head. This weapon is sometimes made of cardboard, and inscribed with mystical sentences, which usually end with the syllables *hūm phaṭ*, the potency of which, in scaring evil demons, is irresistible. The most efficacious *phurbus* are inscribed with mystic syllables and words composed by either the Dalai Lama or the Panchen Lama.

Prayer, among Northern Buddhists, is regarded in common practice as an effective charm, and is generally used as such.

The *manī*, or jewel prayer, '*om manī padme hūm*,' is depended upon as the first and greatest of all charms. Every Tibetan believes that 'it is the panacea for all evil, a compendium of all know-

ledge, a treasury of all wisdom, a summary of all religion' (Monier-Williams, *Buddhism*, 1889, p. 373). The meaning of the sacred syllables is not understood, but, even as their repetition is believed to secure blessing, so it will also thwart evil. In like manner, the use of the manual prayer-wheel, the setting in motion of the prayer-wheels which line the walls leading to the temple-doors, and the turning of the large cylindrical prayer-wheel which is to be found in most shrines are popularly regarded as useful charms.

In Lähul harvest operations, the 108 volumes of the Buddhist encyclopædia are used as a charm, being carried over the fields by women before the crops are sown, to drive evil spirits away. When the grain sprouts, pencil cedar-wood is put in the ground and burnt, to charm away another demon and ensure each grain springing up with many ears.

The great Tibetan work, the *Kah-gyur*, the sacred book of the *Mahāyāna*, or Great Vehicle, contains a repository of charms, etc. In the *Gyut* (Tib. *rgyud*, Skr. *tantra*), the last division of the *Kah-gyur*, which is devoted to mystic theology, there are descriptions of several gods and goddesses, with instructions for preparing the *mandalas*, or circles, for their reception; offerings or sacrifices for obtaining their favour; prayers, hymns, and charms addressed to them. The virtue of the various *mantras* is far-reaching, as the headings show: for obtaining any kind of specified prosperity; for assuaging specific diseases; for securing abundance; for obtaining security from robbers; for protection from fire, water, poison, weapons, enemies, famine, untimely death, lightning, earthquakes, and hail; and from all sorts of demons and evil spirits. The required qualities of a teacher who may officiate at *tantrika* ceremonies are detailed; there is also a description of ten several substances to be used in the sacrifices, such as flowers, incenses, perfumes, lights or lamps; together with the periods, by day or night, when the various ceremonies are effective.

Throughout the Northern Buddhist world it is believed that, by virtue of some charm, every evil being may be successfully resisted and every evil averted.

LITERATURE.—L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895; Monier-Williams, *Buddhism*, London, 1889; Perceval Landon, *Lhasa*, London, 1905; C. A. Sherring, *Western Tibet*, London, 1906; J. E. Duncan, *A Summer Ride through Western Tibet*, London, 1908; S. C. Das, *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, new ed., London, 1904; Ehai Kawaguchi, *Three Years in Tibet*, Madras, 1909; JRAS, vol. iii. J. H. BATESON.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Celtic).—Most of the magical acts performed by the Druids, or other wielders of magic among the Celts, were accompanied by charms, spells, or incantations—usually in poetic form. Their power lay in the magical virtue of the spoken word, or, in the case of spells for healing, in recounting a miracle of healing, in the hope that the action would now be repeated by virtue of mimetic magic. The Irish *filid*, or poets, had to learn traditional incantations (O'Curry, *MS Materials*, Dublin, 1861, p. 240), and many of the verses which Caesar (*de Bell. Gall.* vi. 14) says the Druids would not commit to writing were doubtless of a similar nature.

The earliest Celtic document bearing on Celtic paganism—a MS preserved in the monastery of St. Gall and dating from the 8th or 9th cent.—contains spells appealing to the 'science of Goibnin' to preserve butter, and to 'the healing which Diancecht left' to give health (Zimmer, *Gloss. Hib.*, 1881, p. 271; see also Zeuss, *Gramm. Celt.*, 1871, p. 949). Thus the pagan gods were still appealed to in the charms used by Christian Celts. In later times the charms which are still

in use appealed no longer to the old gods but to the Persons of the Trinity, to the Virgin, or to the saints, but they are quite as much magical incantations as prayers, and they apply to every action of life, while they bear a close resemblance to Etruscan and Babylonian spells which can hardly be accidental (cf. any collection of Celtic spells with those given in Leland, *Etruscan Roman Remains*, 1892; and Lenormant, *Magie chez les Chaldéens*, 1874). Probably such spells passed from country to country in very early times, the appeal being made in each country to the native divinities. After the introduction of Christianity, relics of the saints, hymns composed by them or in their honour, and the Gospels were also used as charms (Joyce, *Social Hist. of Ancient Ireland*, 1903, i. 247 f., 382-386).

All Druidic rites of magic described in the sagas were accompanied by spells, e.g. control of the elements, transmutation, discovery of hidden persons or things, etc. Druids accompanied each army to discomfit the enemy, or to bring strength to their friends by means of the spells uttered by them. The Druids could also remove barrenness through spells and incantations; they could heal deadly wounds, or raise the dead to life (Windisch-Stokes, *Ir. Texte*, 1880-1905, i. 127, iii. 393, iv. a 242, 245, *Táin Bó*, 5484; Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland*, 1906, i. 137; Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions*, 1866, p. 301). Women also used powerful spells among the Celts, and were in consequence much dreaded. The 'spells of women' were feared even by St. Patrick, as they had been in earlier times by the pagan Celts (*Ir. Texte*, i. 56; d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Cours de littérature celtique*, v. 387), while in modern survivals in Celtic areas it is mainly women who make use of charms and spells. In repeating a spell or charm a certain posture was adopted—standing on one leg, with one arm outstretched and one eye closed (see CELTS, XIII. 5). The reason of this posture is unknown; possibly it was intended to concentrate the magical force, while the outstretched arm would point to the person or thing over whom the charm was repeated.

The continuance of the belief in the power of spells down to modern times in rural Celtic areas is one of the most marked examples of the survival of Celtic paganism. Usually they are known only to certain persons, and are carefully handed down from generation to generation, sometimes from male to female, and from female to male. They are used to heal diseases (sometimes the disease itself being personified), to cause fertility, to bring good luck, or a blessing; or, in the case of darker magic, such as was practised by witches, to cause death or disease, or to transfer the property of others to the reciter (Sauvé, *RCel* vi. 67 ff.; *Celtic Magazine*, xii. 38; Camden, *Britannia*², 1806, iv. 488; Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, 1900, ii. 2-21, 124; Joyce, *op. cit.* i. 629-632). See also BARDS (Irish).

A great many kinds of amulets were used by the Celts. If the wheel carried by the statues of the Celtic god with the wheel be taken as a symbol of the sun or the sun-god, then it is probable that the numerous small disks or wheels of metal, clay, or wood, found in Gaul and Britain, were protective amulets, bringing the wearer under the care of the god. A stele found at Metz in 1749 represents a person with a necklace to which is attached such an amulet. In other cases they appear as votive offerings to a river-god, many of them having been found in river-beds or fords (Gaidoz, *Le Dieu gaulois du soleil*, Paris, 1886, p. 60). Other amulets—white marble balls, quartz pebbles, models of the tooth of the wild boar (a Neolithic amulet), and pieces of amber—have been found buried with

the dead, probably as protective amulets (*RA* i. [1873] 227; Greenwell, *British Barrows*, 1877, p. 165; Elton, *Origins of English History*, 1882, p. 66; Renel, *Religions de la Gaule avant le Christianisme*, 1906, pp. 95 f., 194 f.). Phallic amulets were also worn, perhaps as a protection against the evil eye (Reinach, *Bronzes figurés de la Gaule romaine*, Paris, 1900, p. 362). Pliny speaks of the Celtic belief in the magical virtues of coral, either worn as an amulet, or taken in powder as a medicine; and archaeological research has shown that the Celts, during a limited period of their history, placed coral on weapons and utensils, apparently as an amulet (Pliny, *HN* xxxii. 2, 24; *RCel* xx. 13 ff.). Pliny also describes the method of obtaining the 'serpent's egg,' formed from the foam produced by many serpents twining about each other and thrown into the air. The seeker had to catch it in his cloak before it fell, and flee to a running stream, beyond which the serpents could not pursue him. Such an egg was believed to cause its owner to gain lawsuits, or obtain access to kings. A Roman citizen was put to death in the reign of Claudius for bringing such a Druidic talisman into court. This egg was probably some kind of fossil, and was doubtless connected with the cult of the serpent, while some old myth of an egg produced by divine serpents may have been made use of to account for its formation (Pliny, *HN* xxix. 3, 54; 12, 52; see CELTS, x.). Rings or beads of glass, such as are found in tumuli, etc., are still popularly believed in Wales and Cornwall to have been formed by serpents in much the same way as in Pliny's description. They are called *glain naidr*, or 'serpent's glass,' and are believed to have magical virtues, especially against snake-bite. This virtue is also credited to stone rings (generally old spindle-whorls) in the Scottish Highlands (Hoare, *Modern Wiltshire*, 1822, p. 56; Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, 1870, iii. 246, 315), while 'healing stones' both for man and beast are to be found in Ireland and in Scotland alike (Joyce, *op. cit.* i. 628 f.). Many little figures of the boar, the horse, the bull, with a ring for suspending them from a necklet, have been found, and were amulets or images of these divine animals (Reinach, *op. cit.* pp. 286, 289).

LITERATURE.—This has been cited throughout the article.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Christian).—1. Historical survey.—Christianity came as a religion of the spirit into a world given over to superstition and magic. To these Christianity set itself in strong opposition, expelling with irresistible power the illusions under which the religion of Nature had held men's minds in bondage. Ac 19¹⁹ relates that, as the result of St. Paul's missionary preaching in Ephesus, magical books to the value of fifty thousand pieces of silver were publicly burnt; and it would be wrong to suppose that, while burning the books, the people retained their belief in magic. Ancient Christian preaching went the other way to work, and dealt with thoughts first, and things afterwards. This temper lasted long. The more the Christians felt themselves inspired by the Holy Spirit and gifted with miraculous powers, the less willing or able were they to believe in the magical power of lifeless things. The belief is mentioned in ancient Christian literature only to be attacked as an error of heathendom, especially Phrygian and Celtic (Gal 5²⁰ *φάρμακεια*, cf. 3¹ *βασκαλνεν*; *Didache* ii. 2, iii. 4, v. 1; Justin, *Apol.* i. 14; and, still later, Origen, *Peri Archōn*, II. xi. 5; Enseb. *Dem. Evang.* iii. 6, 9 f.; cf. 2 K 21⁶, 2 Ch 33⁶, Asc. Is. 2⁵). It is from the pen of a Christian (Hippolytus, *Refut.* iv.) that we have the most powerful refutation of the artifices of astrology and magic; and Apuleius found more than his

match in Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, viii. 16-22). Not until later times did belief in magic find its way into Catholic communities and gain the recognition of the Church herself.

Nevertheless the Christians had always lived under the suspicion of practising forbidden magic rites (*κακομαγεία*, 1 P 4¹⁰; 'superstitio malefica,' Suet. *Nero*, 16). This they inherited from Judaism. Pliny did not succeed in proving anything of the kind against them; but yet in Hadrian's rescript to Servian (as given by Vopiscus, ch. 8) we find Christian elders associated with rulers of the Jewish synagogues and Samaritanas *mathematici*, *haruspices*, *aliphae*. As a matter of fact, there were among the Christians, and especially among the Gnostics of Egypt, zealous devotees of magic. What we know of Gnostic worship, with its incomprehensible formulae, its use of strange objects, and its insistence on ceremonial correctness, shows affinity with magical practices. Forms of conjuration and amulets have come down to us whose origin is undoubtedly Gnostic; and Origen turned upon the Gnostics the accusations of magic brought against the Christians by Celsus (vi. 21-40). But it was not confined to the Gnostics. It must be admitted that the Catholic Church was not quite free from the taint. On the walls of the catacombs, Jesus Himself is depicted holding a magic wand, though the theologians lay stress upon the absence of all magical means from His miracles (e.g. Arnobius, *adv. Gent.* i. 431. [CSEL iv. 28 f.]). The antithesis between Divine and demoniacal is clearly shown in the apocryphal accounts of the contest between Simon Peter and Simon Magus—the magician kills, the Apostle makes alive; but otherwise the means employed are the same (cf. Joh. Mslalas, *Chron.* p. 252, ed. Bonnet; Georg. Mon. p. 366, ed. de Boor). To the questions of a Christian every demon must give an answer (Tert. *Apol.* 22, 23); even the breath of a Christian was enough to stay the working of a heathen charm (Dionys. Alex., *ap. Euseb.* vii. 10. 4).

Three things render difficult an exact estimate of the dissemination of this superstition among Christians in the earliest times: (1) Christian literature is nearly silent; (2) objects cannot be dated with certainty; and (3) Divine names of Jewish and Christian character were used also by heathen magicians.

With the 4th cent. magical belief began to take a firmer hold within the Church, although synods (e.g. Elvira [A.D. 300 or 313?], can. 6; Ancyra [A.D. 315], can. 24; Laodicea [c. 360], can. 34-36) and the great leaders of theology continued to protest against the adoption of superstitious means in sickness or for the recovery of lost articles. Chrysostom is especially emphatic (see *adv. Judaeos*, hom. viii. 5 [PG xlviii. 935], *ad Pop. Antioch.*, hom. xix. 4 [ib. xlix. 196], *ad Illum. Catech.* ii. 5 [ib. xlix. 239], hom. in 1 Co 7² [ib. li. 216], in Ps 9, ch. 7 [ib. lv. 132], in Joh. hom. xxxvii., lv. [ib. lix. 207, 301], in 1 Cor. hom. xii. 8 [ib. lxi. 105], in Gal. com. i. 7 [ib. lxi. 623], in Col. hom. viii. 5 [ib. lxii. 358], in 1 Thess. hom. iii. 5 [ib. 412]). Of Western preachers cf. pseudo-Augustine (Caesarius of Arles (?), *Sermo* 168. 3, 265. 5, 278. 279. 4 f. [PL xxxix.]; cf. Caspari in *ZDA* xxv. [1881] 314-316, and *Kirchenhist. Anecdota*, i. [1883] 193-212, 213-224); Martin of Bracara (*Correctio rusticorum*, ed. Caspari, 1883; see also the *Capitula* of Martin of Bracara in *PL* cxxx. 575 ff.); Pirminius (*Scarapsus*, 22 [PL lxxxix.]; cf. Caspari, *Kirchenhist. Anecdota*, 151-192), *Vita S. Eligii*, ii. 15 [PL lxxxvii. 528, ed. Krusch, *Mon. Germ. Hist. Scr. rer. Merov.* iv. 705, 753]; Nürnberger, *Aus der litter. Hinterlassenschaft des hl. Bonifatius*, 1888, p. 43). But their protests assumed the reality of the wonders of magic, condemning them only as ungodly and devilish (cf. Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xxi. 6, *de Trin.* iii. 7, 12), and supposed the existence of a higher form of magic that was Divine. After the rise of martyr-worship and the invention of the Holy Cross, the Church possessed a number of sacred objects from which protection and all blessings might be expected. This belief flourished extraordinarily from the 6th to the 8th century. Pope Gregory the Great furthered it with his example and sanctioned it with his authority; for France, Gregory of Tours is typical. And it was further advanced through the incursions into the Roman Empire of the barbarians, whose Christianity had not penetrated beneath the surface. The Frankish synods

and the Anglo-Saxon *libri penitenciales* (collected by Wasserschleben, 1851, and by H. J. Schmitz, 1883) had to lay heavier and heavier ecclesiastical penalties on proscribed heathen uses. Under Charlemagne the matter was taken in hand by the State (cf. *Capitularia regum Franc.*, ed. Boretius [*Mon. Germ. Hist.*], i. 25, 45, ii. 44). A collection of all these decrees is given by Burchard of Worms (*Decret. lib. x.* [PL cxl. 831-854]). But the clergy themselves lent support to the practice, and similar usages, but thinly cloaked in Christian and ecclesiastical guise, were embraced even by bishops. The more rationalistic tendencies of the iconoclasts in the Byzantine Empire and of individual theologians like Agobard of Lyons or Claudius of Turin in the West were quickly and effectively suppressed.

In the Middle Ages, Europe presents a spectacle similar to ancient Rome. As there magic was nominally forbidden, and yet flourished, and in many ways received even official recognition, so here it is possible to point to a whole series of civic and ecclesiastical prohibitions (e.g. *Cod. Just.* lib. ix. tit. 18; *Decr. Grat.* ii. ch. 26, qu. 5), which serve only to prove the opposite of that which one would gladly conclude from them. They show not that there was no magic, but that magic was suspiciously rife, and in certain forms even sanctioned. The few enlightened spirits that arose appear only as isolated figures, and the two forms of magic—that which the Church sanctioned, and that which it proscribed—continued to increase side by side. Contact with the East and the Crusades strengthened the inclination towards the use of protective and remedial charms. In connexion with the suppression of the Albigensian and Waldensian heresies the Inquisition developed an unbounded activity against black magic, which, however, only led to the firmer establishment of that sinister superstition.

In the 15th and 16th cents., while enlightenment and culture spread more and more among the upper classes of society, the Renaissance advancing from Italy brought in its train new forms of superstition. The same Humanism which sought to free itself from the superstitions of the despised monks turned with unstinted admiration to the ancient modes of thought, and gave a new life to astrology and all the practices that accompany it. In opposition to this, the Reformation, taking its stand upon Apostolic Christianity, and resting everything upon the spiritual power of the living Word, sought to put away superstitious inclinations from the hearts of the people. This did not happen all at once. Luther himself was as convinced as any theologian of the Middle Ages of the power of the devil, and he shared many monastic beliefs which his Humanistic friends had already rejected. But he recognized no counter-charm save faith and prayer; and with him, above all men, it is clear that these notions of the Middle Ages were nothing but survivals. All Churches alike have joined in the persecution of witches; but it is easy to see how the Protestant conception of religion, with its insistence upon the word of God on the one hand and upon faith on the other, left ever less and less room for superstitions. Calvinism succeeded perhaps better than Lutheranism. Everywhere, however, the conservative mind of the peasants held tenaciously to the expedients of magic, and even modern enlightenment has not been able completely to eradicate them.

2. Underlying ideas.—The basis of magical practice is a conception of the world which thinks of everything as animate, and therefore as a vessel of some spiritually operating power. Those operations are not supposed to be psychological or ethical,

bnt essentially physical. The modern conception of electro-magnetic influence affords the best analogy. We may call it 'Panpsychism'—a form of Animism as far removed from the belief in an omnipotent, all-working God as it is from the physical point of view of the ancient philosophy of nature, or of modern natural science. Among the Jews of the restoration, still under Persian influence, and the Greek philosophers of the Hellenistic age, this primitive conception took the form of an extraordinarily extensive belief in angels and demons. The object originally thought of as the source of power became only a vessel and an instrument in the hand of a powerfully operating personality. The derivative nature of this belief appears in the purely accidental association between the two. It is true that an affinity is asserted between certain good or evil spirits and certain objects, formulæ, or ceremonies; but not only has every spirit many different instruments of power at his disposal, but the same instrument serves many different spirits. As in religion, so here we note a tendency to something like henodæmonism: at a given moment man is concerned with but one spirit whose power he wishes to repel or to win for himself. At the same time there appears a division into good and bad, benevolent and harmful, spirits, into angels and demons. The whole use of charms rests upon belief in the superior power of the former; a few forms of magic only have their origin in an opposite belief (black magic).

The Neo-Platonists, especially Iamblichus, had already systematized these popular notions, and had attempted to justify them philosophically. Christian theology adopted their theories, while far more eager than they to reconcile the whole angelology and demonology with monotheistic views (Joh. Damasc. *de Fide Orth.* ii. 4). On the one hand, demonstrations were offered to prove the existence of an inward connexion between every spirit and a definite object or formula; the name, picture, or symbol is not merely a human form of expression, but possesses an objective value as a form of manifestation in which the spirit is wholly or partially operative. Christian theology sought support for these theories in the great thought of the Incarnation of God. If the greatest of all powers, Omnipotence itself, was manifested to our sense in human shape, could not the lower powers similarly become incarnate, and embody themselves in men, or even in lower forms? Next to the purely spiritual beings stand the saints (*q.v.*), bound through their own past life to the world of sense, who have left behind them in the shape of relics (*q.v.*) vessels of their spiritual power. On the other hand, all possible emphasis is laid upon the sovereign freedom of the will of God, whose command or permission alone renders possible any exercise of power (Lactantius, *Inst. Div.* ii. 14, 15; Aug. *de Divinatione Daemonum* [CSEL xli. 597-618], *de Civ. Dei*, xii. 25, *de Trin.* iii. 8, 13; pseudo-Aug. *Sermo* 278. 4 [PL xxxix. 2270]).

This is the teaching of the Greek theologians, as well as of the Latins (cf. John of Damascus, and Thomas Aquinas, *Summa*, ii. 2, qu. 91-96, *quodlib.* xi. 10). We cannot make these great theologians responsible for all the writings that bear their names; to such names as Gregorius Thaumaturgus and Albertus Magnus a whole literature of magic has been attached. Leo the Wise, whose *Novella* lxxv. outdoes all earlier State ordinances against magic, became in popular rumour himself an arch-magician, and the like happened with Pope Sylvester (Gerbert). In the Middle Ages any serious student of mathematical or scientific problems—like Roger Bacon or Raymond Lull—gained this reputation at once. But Magic could yet appeal with some right to the

theologians whose theories had been made her justification. How difficult was the position of the ecclesiastical theology—compelled to admit the underlying theories of magic, and yet unwilling to sanction the practice—appears most clearly in the writings of Gerson. The Church herself made war, under the title of magic, sorcery, and witchcraft, only upon that part of the whole phenomenon whose methods and aims were outside ecclesiastical control, and were suspected of connexion with heresy—Manichæan, Albigensian, or Catharian. The general principles are laid down in the Papal bulls (Gregory IX., *Vox in Rama*, A.D. 1233; Innocent VIII., *Summis desiderantes*, A.D. 1484, *Bullarium Romanum* [1743], iii. 3. 191 [Mirbt, *Quellen zur Gesch. des Papsttums*, 1895, p. 105]; Alexander VI., 1494; Julius II., 1507; Leo X., 1521; Hadrian VI., 1523; Pius IV., 1564), and detailed directions are given in the *Directorium inquisitorum* of the Spanish Grand Inquisitor, Nicolaus Aymericus (1358) (1376?), and in the famous *Malleus maleficorum* (composed A.D. 1487 by Krämer and Sprenger, and printed at Cologne, 1489, 1494, 1496, 1511, 1520, etc., best ed. in 4 vols., Lyons, 1669, Germ. tr. by J. W. R. Schmidt, 1906); and in the works of the Jesuits M. Delrio (*Disquisitionum Magicarum libri vi.*, 1606) and P. Binsfeld (*Tractatus de confessionibus maleficorum et sagarum*, 1591).

We must not, of course, presume that men consciously entertained these underlying ideas, or that they were acquainted with the philosophical and theological theories about them. Charms are applied by ancient custom no less (indeed, perhaps more) generally by those who do not understand their meaning. Incomprehensibility and irrationality are often important factors in their use. It frequently happens that the original meaning of a charm disappears altogether, and enlightened times subject everything to an ingenious rationalization; yet the use of charms and their application remain as before, and at any time the original meaning may be revived.

Tattooing, for example, had undoubtedly at first a magical, prophylactic import, and it is possible that this import is retained in the practice of tattooing with religious marks which is still found among the Christian peoples of Italy and Bosnia. But among modern sailors it survives only as a meaningless convention, a kind of ornament, as is at once obvious from the subjects chosen. A horse's head on a stable, a pair of antlers on a ranger's house, are in Germany at the present day common symbolic ornaments pointing to the nature of the building. In former times horses' skulls were highly valued among the Germans as defensive charms—a use against which, on account of its connexion with heathen sacrifices, the Church waged energetic warfare. So, too, among the Greeks ox-skulls were originally a charm which later on developed into the so-called *bucranium*-ornament: we do not know what is the meaning of the numerous ox-skulls found to-day in villages of Asia Minor (see H. Rott, *Kleinasiat. Denkmäler*, 1908, p. 82; and art. *ÆGEAN RELIGION*).

Under these circumstances it is often difficult to fix the boundary between charms and ornaments or curiosities. What appears at first sight to be merely a decoration may have significance for its wearer as a means of protection. At the present time there is an inclination to give exaggerated recognition to this fact, and to attribute to every possible object a magical character and purpose, of which very likely neither its maker nor its possessor has ever dreamed. We must remember that in this province, as everywhere, nothing is stationary or universal; nor is the path of human progress a straight line leading ever upwards from superstition to enlightenment, but a tortuous road that sinks as often as it rises. Moreover, at one and the same time, different communities in a nation—the country-folk and the town-dwellers—as well as different classes—the educated and the uneducated—think very differently upon the subject. Remembering this, we cannot be too cautious in our conclusions.

3. Terminology and classification of charms.—Even in ancient times the Egyptians had organized the science of charms into a complete system (see Wallace Budge, *Egyptian Magic*², 1901). Celsus (*ap. Orig. vi. 39*) incidentally enumerates the following as practised and taught by Christians: καθαρμός, ἡ λυτηρίου ὥδς, ἡ ἀποπομπίμους φωνάς, ἡ κτύπους, ἡ δαιμονίου σχηματισμούς, ἐσθήτων, ἡ ἀριθμῶν, ἡ λίθων, ἡ φυτῶν, ἡ ῥιζῶν, καὶ ὅλως παντοδαπῶν χρημάτων παντοία ἀλεξιφάρμακα, and, further, βιβλία βάρβαρα, δαιμόνων ὀνόματα ἔχοντα καὶ τερατείας. Augustine (*de Doctr. Christ. II. xx. 30*) mentions as 'molimina magicarum artium': (1) aruspicum et augurum libri; (2) ligaturae atque remedia, sive in praecantationibus, sive in quibusdam notis quas characteres vocant, sive in quibusque rebus suspendendis atque illigandis, vel etiam aptandis quodammodo. This terminology is based partly upon the objects employed as charms, partly upon the manner of their application, and partly upon the purpose. These different bases of classification are seldom distinguished; we often find as parallel species φυλακτήρια, περὶπτα, ἐπιφθαί, χαρακτήρες, incantationes, ligaturae, remedia, phylacteria, characteres, succini, herbae. Generic names are: τὰ περπεργα (e.g. *Ac 19¹⁶*; *Iren. I. xxiv. 5*), μαγεία, μαγία, μαγγανεία, γοητεία, φαρμακεία. (According to Suidas, μαγεία is distinguished as the invocation of good spirits for beneficial purposes, γοητεία as the conjuration of the dead, φαρμακεία as the administration of magical potions. This contradicts Bingham's [*vii. 25*] definition of μαγεία as harmful magic—*veneficium* and *maleficium*—and of incantamentum as the use of salutary charms.) All these terms deal only with active or 'working' magic, in distinction from the various methods of inquiry into the future—passive or 'seeing' magic (μαρτεία, divinatio). The latter plays the greater part—see the list of heathen μαρτεῖαι (to which the corresponding list of μαγείαι is unfortunately lacking) in Josephus Christ. *Hypomnesticon*, 144 [*PG* cvi. 160]; the list, which Isidore of Seville, *Etymol. viii. 9* [*PL* lxxxii. 310], draws up from Augustine (*de Doctr. Christ. ii. 21, de Civ. Dei*, vii. 35, xxi. 8), Jerome (*in Dan. 2^o [PL xxv. 521]*), and Lactantius (*Div. Inst. ii. 17 [PL vi. 336]*),—cf. Rabanus Maurus [*PL* cx. 1095],—and the *Indiculus Superstitionum et paganiarum* from *Vat. Pal. 577* (last published by Boretius, *Capit. reg. Franc. [MGH i. 222 f.]*, and commented upon by Hefele, *Concilien-gesch.*² iii. 505–511, and Sauppe, in *Programm des städtischen Realgymnasiums zu Leipzig*, 1891), confuse the two forms (see art. DIVINATION).

Magic is nowadays mostly divided into 'white' and 'black,' according as the help of good or of evil spirits is called in. This distinction generally coincides with that between the ends desired—help or harm, defence or offence. Others define white magic as supernatural working on another's behalf, and black as that for one's own good. Schanz gives a more modern sounding definition (but cf. *Aug. de Doctr. Christ. ii.*), dividing magic into natural and artificial—the one harmless (white), the other harmful (black), and passing, with the aid of demoniacal powers, beyond the natural. Kieseewetter (ii. 701) propounds a different distinction: white magic is a development of the intuitive faculties, with the object of attaining the mystic Kenosis; natural magic is the application of rudimentary physical and chemical knowledge; black magic is witchcraft; and theurgy is the raising of spirits, including necromancy and invocation of the devil.

4. Purposes.—A. DEFENSIVE CHARMS.—(1) *Prophylactic*.—The most important and commonest purpose of charms is that of averting evil, to which the class name of 'apotropaeic' is given by modern scholars. This appears in the names

for charms—φυλακτήριον (also φυλακτὸν among the Byzantines), which in Latin is either transcribed as *phylacterium* or translated by *servatorium* (see Suicer and Ducange, also Loewe-Goetz, *Corp. Gloss.* vii. 86). *Amuletum* has the same meaning. This word has no connexion with the Arabic, either with *hamala*, 'to wear' (von Hammer), or with *hamail*, 'sword-belt' (Dozy; against this see Gildemeister, *ZDMG* xxxviii. 140 ff.), but is genuine Latin. So comparatively early a writer as Varro (*Rer. divin. bk. xiii. ap. Charisius, Gramm.* 105, 9, ed. Keil) cannot explain it; Pliny uses it frequently (xxiii. 20, xxv. 115, xxviii. 38, xxix. 66, 83, xxx. 82, 138, xxxvii. 51, 117), and always in the sense of a protective or defensive object, of whatever kind. According to the glosses, it is derived from *amolimentum* (*Corp. Gloss.* vi. 63, 65; cf. also Walde, *Etymolog. Wörterb.*, 27). The Greeks speak continually of ἀλεξιγῆριος, ἀλεξίκακος, ἀλεξιβέλμων, ἀλεξιφάρμακος.

The evils to be averted are all possible harmful influences, especially that of the evil eye (βασκανία, *fascination*—hence *προβασκανία*), and further demoniacal possession, fever, illness of all kinds, wounds, sudden death, fire, drought, attacks of robbers, and all other evils by which mankind is threatened. The instruments by which they may be averted are small objects hung upon the body (περὶπτα, περιάμματα, *ligaturae*, Old Germ. *Angehénke*, 'ligatures'—also *περιτραχήλια*). The special name given to these nowadays is 'amulet,' also 'talisman' (an Arab. form from τέλεσμα).¹

From the East was derived the form of the medallion or small plaque (πέταλον), often in gold with jewels or enamel. In Rome the little lead tube (*bullae*) had its home; and in later times a small casket or locket (*capsa*, *capsella*). Under Christian influence these amulets took the form of the cross, but the medallions also survived.

The ancients had a most exhaustive system of defence by magical means (Jacob Burckhardt, *Die Zeit Constantins des Grossen*, 210). To every limb and every kind of disease a special charm was allotted. Immediately a child was born, it was decorated with amulets—commonly bells or magic knots—and its chair and cradle were surrounded with all manner of charms (Chrysa. *in 1 Cor. hom. xii. 7* [*PG* lxi. 105]; Theodora of Studium, *Laud. fun. in matrem suam*, 2 [*PG* xcix. 885]). The rattle and little bell given to babies for amusement nowadays may have originated in this custom.

It was soon sought in Christian circles to set these phylacteric objects on a level with the *tephilin* which were ordained in the OT, and which later Judaism was no longer content to regard, in accordance with the teaching of Dt 6⁸ 11¹⁸ and Ex 13⁹,¹⁶ as mere tokens of remembrance, but found in them, as indeed the original wearers had probably done before them, protective charms; hence the Greek rendering φυλακτήρια (Mt 23⁵; see Schürer, *GJV*³ ii. 484). The Fathers contested this co-ordination (e.g. Epiphanius, *Haer.* 15 [*PG* xli. 245]), and the earlier synods laid the penalties of the Church upon the manufacture of phylacteries by the clergy. But in the East a change of opinion began with the 6th cent., and was completed with the iconoclastic controversy. The Patriarch Nicephorus (*Antirr.* iii. 36 [*PG* c. 433]) speaks of the wearing of gold or silver crosses, often with pictures from the life of Christ, as a primitive Christian custom, the rejection of which by the iconoclasts only served to convict them of apostasy.²

¹ In the *Westöstlicher Diwan*, Goethe distinguishes between 'talisman,' a magic mark on a precious stone, and 'amulet,' a form of words (often of some length) written on paper; but this distinction is without historical basis.

² Cf. Theophanes, p. 446 [ed. de Boor], on the persecution of φυλακτήριον-wearers at the time of Constantine Copronymus). At the present time the so-called *encolpia* worn by all dignitaries of the Orthodox Church are generally regarded as decorative insignia, and their pattern is strictly regulated according to the rank of the wearer. But Nicephorus says clearly that they were called *phylacteria*, and served for the protection and

The development in the West was similar. It is true that the decrees of the Councils were ratified and continued (cf. above, § 1; Fulgentius Ferrandus [PL lxxxviii. 824]; Crisostomus Africanus [*ib.* 876]; Schmitz, 312 ff.), and Pope Nicolaus I. forbade the manufacture of *ligaturae* among the Bulgarians. But it was always heathen charms alone that were meant; Christian charms were in continual use. The Western clergy, too, wore crosses, and by no means for mere ornament. The presents sent from Gregory to Theodelind all have the character of amulets; some of them are still preserved in the treasury at Monza—a cross-pendant with a relic of the Holy Cross, a Gospel lectionary in a Persian case, three rings with hyacinth and albula stones (*Ep.* xiv. 2 [PL lxxvii. 1316]). Gregory of Tours wore such a cross, and periodically changed the relic it contained. The *Lives of the Saints* are full of miracles wrought by these *phylacteria*.

In the later Middle Ages the practice of indulgences extended the working of charms to a new province—the fate in Purgatory—and thereby gave them an enhanced interest; many things intended to effect indulgence became charms in popular use (see 5 C (8)).

Here, too, mention must be made of the scapulary. Introduced by the Carmelites in 1287 and supported by Papal privileges (*Privilegium sabbatinum*, 1320), it was to enjoy so great a popularity as to arouse the competition of other monastic orders. The scapulary is a strip of cloth, suggesting the cowl, which is wrapped round the dying in order to ensure him a blessed death and immediate freedom from Purgatory. A comparison may be drawn with the legend that Pilate was protected against the Emperor's wrath as long as he wore Christ's seamless coat (*Leg. Aurea*, liii.).

Modern Roman Catholicism, with the numerous insignia of its brotherhoods, its medals struck in commemoration of ecclesiastical festivals, its medallions in memory of different shrines, and especially of pilgrimage-centres, has done much to encourage this faith. To all these objects, which generally take the form of crosses or medallions to be worn round the neck, the consecration of the Church and contact with sacred things (relics and images) impart protective power; and in the popular regard far more weight is laid upon this than upon the purely memorial significance. The present writer met at Nancy in 1909 a driver who was firmly persuaded that the safety of his horse and carriage was guaranteed by a little medallion showing the portrait of the Madonna du Bon Secours which he had in his pocket.

But even in Protestant circles, especially among the country-folk, there is no lack of amulets. There exists in Germany a great quantity of *Schwertbriefe* (also called *Himmelsbriefe*, from the belief that they have fallen from heaven), containing an abundance of prayers, formulæ, names, and characters, and lavishly decorated with crosses, which are worn round the neck or in the pocket, for protection against sword-cuts. In recent wars many soldiers are said to have put their trust in the protective power of such papers, or of coins and other objects, as they went into the field (see Schindler, *Aberglaube des Mittelalters*, 1858, p. 131).

Amulets are used for the protection not only of men but also of cattle, which form to some extent

man's most valuable possession, and are as liable as he to the attacks of demons. The application of *ligaturae* to cattle is mentioned, among others, by Eligius and Ebendorfer (see below, 5, introd.). In later times the so-called Antonius medallions found special favour, for Antony of Padua has been the patron of horses and asses ever since the adoration by an ass of the Host which the saint held in his hand. To swine Antony's greater namesake, the ancient Egyptian hermit, affords protection. Cowbells, like the bells hung on infants, had originally a protective significance, and were intended to frighten away evil spirits; their use as a means of recognition by the herdsman is a later idea.

The same purpose as that of amulets or talismans worn on the person is served by apotropaic inscriptions on buildings (cf. Dt 6^o 11²⁰; pseudo-Aristeas, *Ep.* § 158, ed. Wendland; Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* viii. ix. 27; see, for further details, 5 C (6)). Men desire to protect not only their bodies, but their houses. Even individual pieces of furniture and household ware are equipped with their inscriptions and magic characters (Chrysostom, in 1 Cor. hom. 43 [PG lxi. 373], mentions a *εὐαγγέλιον* hanging on the couch).

(2) *Counter-charms*.—The use of charms is not only protective: a demonic enchantment must be removed by a counter-charm. In such cases the first business is to determine the nature of the enchantment in question (*ἀνέρεται φαρμακείων ἤτοι μαγείων*), and then to nullify its operation (*καθαίρει γοητείων*; Zonaras on Ancyra, can. 24 [PG cxxxvii. 1192]). This procedure, however, was held to be heathen. Christians were concerned mostly with the thwarting of demonic miracles through Divine power. Simon Magus, borne heavenwards through the air by demons, was brought to earth by the Apostles' prayers; i.e. the power of the demons was removed, and thereupon the magician fell headlong and was dashed to pieces (*Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, ed. Lipsius and Bonnet, i. 82, 166; cf. Arnobius, *adv. Gentes*, ii. 12). The apocryphal *Acts of the Apostles* are full of such miracles. That they were ascribed to the action of a holy magic, and not merely to the power of prayer, is shown by the case of St. Peter, who caused Simon's demoniacal hounds to vanish by means of some pieces of consecrated bread lying hidden in the sleeve of his cloak (*Mart. Petri et Pauli*, 24 ff.). Some heretics, who by the assistance of demons were walking over a river, were made to sink, not by prayer or by conjuration, but by Hosts thrown into the stream (Cæsarius of Heisterbach, *Dial. Mirac.* ix. 12). In isolated instances the sanction of the Church was obtained even for the resistance of black magic by black magic. A German bishop on a journey back from Rome was bewitched by his mistress, and lay sick unto death until he gained the consent of the Pope to allow him to call in another witch, who turned the enchantment upon its author; then the bishop immediately recovered, and the mistress died (*Malleus malefic.* ii. 2). But in general the Church tolerated such counter-magic, which was practised only by those who made a trade of it, as little as she tolerated witchcraft itself (cf. Ferraris, *Bibliotheca Canonica*, s.v. 'Superstitio,' § 74). The only licensed form was that contained in the magic working of the Church's *sacramentalia* (see 5 C (10)).

(3) *Curative charms*.—Akin to counter-charms is a use of charms which is both more extensive than any other and more fully illustrated by the literary records of antiquity, namely, that for the purpose of healing. Sickness was held to be the working of a demonic power, of some magic—an alien spirit has taken possession of the man and must be driven out. To this end, besides the

assurance of life, for the health of soul and body, for healing in sickness, and for the averting of attacks by unclean spirits. The Emperor and high Imperial officials also wore such *phylacteria*; and they were sent as pledges of safe conduct (cf. Anastasius Sinaïta in Ps. vi. [PG lxxxix. 1112], of Emperor Mauricius; pseudo-Symeon, p. 631, 2, and Georgius Mon. *Cont.* p. 795, 3 [ed. Bonn.], of Emperor Theophilus; see, further, Ducange on *Alexias*, ii. [PG cxxxii. 204]).

recitation of formulæ, breathing upon the patient, or anointing him with oil—a much-used medium in magic, supported in Christian practice by Ja 5¹⁴—magical objects could also be applied; for example, the Solomon's ring (see 5 B (4)). But, in addition to possession by demons, all bodily ailments were attributed to bewitchment, and so the application of remedial charms was a panacea for all sickness.

Magic formed a very large element in the medicine of antiquity, and has its share in the popular medicine of to-day. Any legitimate remedy may easily become a charm. For example, breath may often have a directly physical effect, warming and softening; but when water that has been breathed upon in the morning is supposed in the evening to have a healing virtue, there is present the notion of the magical transference of power. To drink an herbal powder for colic is a reasonable course of action; but when the herb is hung round the neck, that is magic, says Augustine, and with truth (*de Doctr. Christ.* II. xxix. 45). Then the idea is that the sight of the antidote affrights the demon.

The chief remedial measure is to bind the demon so that he can do no harm. This is done partly by the methods of sympathetic magic—some object is formally bound and certain knots are tied—and partly through conjuration. Gregory of Tours (*de Virt. S. Juliani*, 45, ed. Krusch, p. 582) gives a graphic description of how, in a case of sudden illness, a *hariolus* is called in and 'incantationes immurmurat, sortes iacetat, ligaturas collo suspendit.' Chrysostom's account is similar; in cases of sickness the conjurer (*ἐρασιδός*) is sent for, or an old woman who, to the accompaniment of various formulæ, hangs an amulet with magic characters round the patient's neck. These practices must have been very wide-spread among the Christians. Chrysostom preaches repeatedly against them: they are idolatrous, and, if death follows upon their renunciation, it is to be counted as martyrdom (cf. also Basil in *Ps* 45² [*PG* xxix. 417]).

The form of conjuration consists of a short speech addressed in commanding tones to the disease in question, often in verse, commonly without sense or meaning. But longer forms were also used, and the tone passed imperceptibly into that of prayer, a special succourer being invoked for every illness. In case of poisoning the help of Anastasia *φαρμακολύτρια* was implored; if the patient could not sleep, a prayer (that is, a form of conjuration) was used, in which the names of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus appeared (Vassiliev, *Anecdota graeco-byzantina*, I. [1893] 327), and so on. Often the desire was expressed that the disease should depart into some other being; and to bring about the transference certain ceremonies were performed upon a tree, or an animal, most commonly a cock. The notion entertained is sometimes that of a purely physical transmission, and sometimes that of the migration of an evil spirit (cf. the Gerasene swine, Mk 5¹²). Another method was to expel the sickness by contact with a higher remedial power. As the demons fled before the presence of Christ and His saints, so the disease retires when anything sacred, be it man or thing, touches the affected portion of the sick man's body (see 5 A (2)). Then there are the images of diseased members, deposited or hung at a holy place (*in trivios et ab arboribus vel alio*, according to the heathen custom; see Pirminius, *Scarapsus*, 22 [p. 175, ed. Caspari]), and later in churches and chapels, to attract healing virtue to the particular limb. The significance of these images shifted from charms to *ex votos*—thank-offerings for recovery vouchsafed; but these were generally promised beforehand; and originally the wooden and waxen limbs were supposed to effect the cure.

Finally, names have here, as upon *phylacteria*, a compelling force. A sufferer from epilepsy—the falling sickness—can be cured by wearing on his person the names of the three kings who fell in

worship before the infant Christ. And something of this name-magic can be traced in the common practice of giving certain medical prescriptions under the names of great magicians and saints (cf. 5 C (4)).

(4) *Detective magic*.—On the threshold that divides 'working' from 'seeing' magic (charms from divination) stand the methods employed to detect the guilty among a number of suspects, and to establish guilt or innocence where only one is accused. If it was desired, for example, to discover who was the thief among a body of suspected persons, an eye was painted on the wall, and the suspects were led past it; he whose eyes filled with tears as he went by was the thief. If this method was not at first successful, a magic nail was hammered in as well (Vassiliev, 341). The throat was another treacherous member; pieces of bread and cheese were given to the suspects, and he who choked over them was guilty. Of course, the bread and cheese must have been consecrated with special ceremonies; bread consecrated on Maundy Thursday was a particular favourite with the Greeks (Balsamon on Trull. can. 61 [*PG* cxxxvii. 724]; Synod of Constantinople, A.D. 1372 [*Acta Patriarch.* I. 595]; Vassiliev, 330), and also in the West (see Ducange, s.v. 'Coroned'). In Novgorod, after 1410, bread was used that had been consecrated before the image of the Edessene saints Gurias, Samonas, and Abibos (Vassiliev, lxx.; cf. the miracle of these saints [*PG* cxvi. 145–161]). In the 16th cent. this method lost its religious character and became more akin in form to divination. Women kneaded pieces of paper, containing the names of the suspected, into balls of dough, and threw them into a basin of water. The dough was dissolved, and the paper released; the first that came to the surface gave the name of the guilty (Pictorius of Villingen, *De rebus non naturalibus* [c. 1540]). Similar is the use of an axe or sieve placed in equilibrium, through the motion of which the guilty person was shown—a practice used in the trial of witches in France during the 16th century. A very ancient practice in cases of murder was to lead the suspected person to the bier, not in order to observe his demeanour in the presence of the victim, but in the expectation that the approach of the murderer would cause the dead man's wounds to bleed anew.

With this last method we come to the means by which it was sought to establish guilt or innocence in cases where a definite accusation was lodged. This form of procedure, known in the Middle Ages as the 'ordeal' (Germ. *Gottesurteil*), and very widely used for judicial ends, is both ancient and universal. Nu 5^{11a} prescribes the so-called 'water of bitterness' for cases of suspected adultery (cf. *Protevangel. Jacobi*, 16); and the use of bull's blood among the priestesses of Achaia (Pausanias, VII. xxv. 8) is similar. Christianity believed from a very early time that the most efficacious means of revealing guilt was the Holy Communion (see, e.g., *Acta Thomae*, 51, p. 167 [ed. Bonnet]). The magic element shows itself in the expectation that judgment and punishment will coincide. The use of the lot is pure divination; but the ordeals by fire and water lie within the province of working magic. In the former the accused must touch or carry red-hot iron; in the latter, either he had to plunge his hand into boiling water without being scalded, or he was bound and thrown into a river; if he sank, he was innocent; if the water would not receive him, he was held to be guilty. The chivalresque form of settling guilt or innocence by means of a fight is well known from Sir Walter Scott's splendid description in *Ivanhoe*. Deprived of its original meaning, it still survives in the modern duel.

B. *PRODUCTIVE CHARMS*.—(5) *Fertility*.—Charms can also be used for positive ends—the promotion of the forces valuable to man. By far the most ancient and most general application is for the furtherance of the forces of propagation either of the earth, that wood, meadow, and crops may grow, or of beasts and men, that they may be multiplied. Christianity found such usages everywhere in existence among the country people, especially the Germans, and in the beginning sought to do away with these heathen rites; but later here, too, the approved course was adopted of retaining what could not be uprooted, while clothing it in a form suitable to the Christian Church. Carolingian *capitularia* still forbade the boundary processions (*rogationes*, ‘beating the bounds’); but later they were led by the priest in solemn train with the sacrament; and in this form they have remained down to the present time. The most famous example is the *Blutritt* of Weingarten, in Württemberg—a procession on horseback with a relic brought from the East, blood from the wound in Christ’s side. In time of severe drought a procession with the relics of St. Rolendis is said always to have produced a good effect (*AS*, May, iii. 242); good harvest weather is to be ensured by a procession with the relics of St. Florentia of Poitiers (Dec. 1).

A kind of magical manuring was also in use: holy water was sprinkled on the land before and during the sowing. There are even instances of the use—certainly not with the Church’s approval—of consecrated wafers for this purpose. Here and there a peasant woman would scatter them over her cabbages for protection against grubs, or Hosts were put in bee-hives to render them more productive. Petrus Venerabilis (*de Mirac.* i. 1 [*PL* clxxxix. 852 ff.]) and Cæsarius of Heisterbach (*Mirac. Dial.* ix. 8) affirm that in one such case the bees built a regular chapel of wax. There is a similar legend of Drei Ähren, near Colmar.

Fertility must also be assured for beasts. To this end shepherds and huntsmen used bread or herbs that had been consecrated with magic forms, hiding them in trees or at cross-roads (Rouen, can. 4 [Burchard, x. 18; *PL* cxl. 836]).

(6) *Weather charms*.—Closely connected with the fertility charms are those for the regulation of the weather, whereby the various conditions of rain or sunshine that are most suitable for the growth of crops are produced, or the destructive forces of drought, hailstorm, and the like are malevolently called into action. To cause rain, some water from the brook was sprinkled in the air, or vessels of water were poured over the earth. A naked maid, with a henbane on her right foot, was conducted to the river and there sprinkled by other maidens (Burchard of Worms, xix. 5, qu. 194; Schmitz, *Bussbücher*, ii. 452). In the Middle Ages the statues or relics of Christian saints—at Perpignan, for example, the relics of St. Galderic—were bathed, like the statues of the gods in ancient times. In these practices sympathetic magic is obviously preponderant; less so when the relics of St. Exsuperius or the garment of St. Eutychius were simply carried in time of drought round the land. Another clear instance of this species of magic appears in a story of St. Benedict’s sister. The saint was on a visit to her, and, as she wished to keep him longer by her side, she covered her head with her hands, as though for prayer, and poured forth floods of tears; immediately torrents of rain descended from heaven in response (*Vita S. Bened.* ch. 33; *Leg. Aurea*, xlix. 16 [p. 212, ed. Graesse]).

The belief that it was possible to bring bad weather by casting stones into certain mountain-lakes was supported by official laws against such action. Mt. Pilatus near Lucerne was one of

these localities, and here the superstition was only gradually uprooted by Vadian, Gesner, and Platter in the 16th century.

As always happens, popular imagination busied itself mostly with malevolent magic. It was believed that certain individuals could direct the weather, and use it to the injury of others (they are called *νεφεδιῶνται* [ps.-Justin, *Quæst. ad orth.* 31; Conc. Trull. can. 61, where Balsamon’s explanation, that divination by the clouds is meant, cannot be accepted], Lat. *tempestarii* [Charlemagne, *MGH Capit. reg. franc.* i. 59 (65), 104 (40)], and *immissores tempestatum* [*PL* cxl. 961; *Lex Visigoth.* vi. 2, 4; Schmitz, *Bussbücher* i. 308, 479, etc.]). Hail-clouds were supposed to come from a country named Mangonia, and with them came people who carried off the damaged fruits back through the air to their home. At the time of Agobard of Lyons († 841) this belief was particularly rampant: men claimed to have found such people who had fallen from the sky. The bishop had great difficulty in pacifying the populace (‘contra insulam vulgi opinionem de grandine et tonitruis’ [*PL* civ. 147–158]). The superstition, however, remained, and played a sinister part in the trials of witches, who were believed not only to bring rain and hail by sprinkling water, but also to be able, aided by the devil, to steal corn, milk, butter, and other farm produce, drawing it by enchantment through the air.

To avert threatening storms, charms are again the means. Fires were kindled and various things (possibly as sacrificial offerings) thrown upon them; a cross was pointed to the four quarters of the heavens, and holy water was sprinkled in the air (Mengus, *Flagellum Dæmonum*, London, 1604, p. 208). Bell-ringing and shooting were also, without doubt, originally intended to affright the storm-demons; it was quite a later development to say that the one had the edifying purpose of calling the people to prayer, and the other the physical effect of breaking up the clouds.

(7) *Birth and capacity*.—To be fertile and to leave issue behind him is the dearest desire of man, and for its attainment various charms were used. Among these are throwing peas into the lap of the bride, eating the fruit of a tree bearing for the first time, drinking fresh birch-sap, and the simple possession of mandrakes—Heb. *dūdā’im* (Gn. 30¹⁴), mandragora, Germ. *Alraun* (cf. Physiologus, xliii. [p. 272, ed. Lauchert]). The girdle of St. Magnus of Tarra-gona was also useful, and, in general, the invocation of certain saints, of whom Kerler (*Patronate der Heiligen*, 1905, pp. 118 ff., 123 ff., 372 ff.) gives a list of extraordinary proportions. The means of effecting easy and safe delivery were also very numerous—many in universal use, such as crawling through something (see 5 A (2)), opening the locks of doors and chests, opening the blades of knives; and many peculiar to the Church. Among the last may be mentioned the girdles of St. Margaret, St. Hildegund of Mehre, and St. Licinius of Angers, the hair-girdle of St. Ludgardis, the shirt of St. Maria of Oignies, the staff of St. Dominic, dust from the body of St. Norbert (taken as medicine or laid on the neck), and so forth.

Immediately after the birth of the child, besides the inquiry by divination into its future, and the prophylactic rites mentioned above, there began a series of productive-charm processes to ensure it long life, health, bodily strength, and intellectual capacity. In naming the child an effort was made to gain for it a powerful patron by choosing the name of a famous saint, but further methods were adopted to affect directly the length of life. Different names were attached to a number of candles, which were then set alight, and the name on that which burnt longest was chosen (Chrysostom, in 1 *Cor.* hom. xii. 7 [*PG* lxi. 105])—another

form of magic standing on the boundary between divination and charm. At Béziers, protection against epilepsy was gained for the child by having it baptized in the font connected with the tomb of St. Aphrodisius. A St. Vitus's stone in Jura, which Monnier supposes to be the remains of an ancient phallus, imparted strength to children placed upon it. If a boy's sight was bad, it could be improved by the ceremonial ablution of the effigies of saints in the churches, accompanied by the recitation of many prayers and passages of Scripture. Similar methods were helpful also when a child was slow to learn: he was taken to church during Mass, and given wine and water to drink in a glass vessel inscribed with the names of the twenty-four heavenly elders (Vassiliev, 342). Special talent often appears in legend as due to the grace of Heaven vouchsafed in a particular revelation, generally through the Virgin; and so it was held possible, through the invocation of saints, to impart some understanding even to idiots, and to unlettered persons the capacity to read and understand texts of Scripture. In Italian churches there may still frequently be seen votive thank-offerings for success in examinations. Martin of Bracara [† 580], *Capitula*, ch. 76 [PL cxxx. 587] mentions various foolish practices used by women over their spinning and weaving (cf. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*, 619).

(8) *Love-charms*.—Closely related to these are the various charms for producing, regaining, or securing love. This form of magic, inspired by passion, and often by jealousy, went so far as to aim at the death of the person loved, if he could not be won. Love-charms were much used in the heathen world—sometimes the magic top on which the head of a wryneck was tied (see Suidas, s.v. *ὠρυξ*), sometimes magic potions (*φάρμακα*). Jerome (*Vita Hilarionis*, 21 [PL xxiii. 39]) tells of a virgin who was rendered mad with love by means of Egyptian 'characters' buried by her lover under her threshold. Jewish exorcists were supposed to have special skill in this matter (cf. Jos. *Ant.* xx. vii. 2). One of these may be the author of the love-spell discussed by Deissmann in *Bibelstudien* (1895), 21–54, where, as in the case of *defixiones* (below, C (9)), the charm is inscribed on a roll of lead; the spell by which the demon is conjured consists of five series of names for God and acts of God taken from the Bible. The lover in this case may have been a heathen woman; but the practice of love-magic by Christians is proved by the warnings of Chrysostom, the prohibitions of the Synod of Agde, can. (4 Burchard, x. 29), and the *Penitentiaries* (Schmitz, *Bussbücher*, p. 306). The charms used were for the most part of heathen character: e.g. magic potions; leaves sewn together, of course with spells; apples or candles into which needles were stuck crosswise (by these a visit from the loved one was enforced); love-clasps made of frog's bones; four-leaved clover (cruciform); rose-apples secretly attached to the beloved's person (Wuttke, 550 ff.); and, most effective of all, something from the lover's own body mixed with the other's food—they even went so far as to use *semen virile* and *sanguis menstruus* (Burchard of Worms, xix. 5, 39–164; Schmitz, *op. cit.* pp. 314, 459). Wax images and candles were also used (cf. Lea, iii. 657, on a trial of the Inquisition, A.D. 1329). So long as a light burnt in a certain cloister, the Emperor Matthias remained bound to his mistress (Stüve, *Wittelsbacher Briefe*, vii. 682). But sacred things were also abused for this purpose. Caesarius of Heisterbach tells of a priest who hoped to win the forbidden love of a woman by kissing her with a consecrated wafer in his mouth.

Similar methods were effective in conjugal quarrels. The demon of discord was conjured;

husband and wife had to wear amulets with certain magic formulæ; and a magnet was cut in two and each was given a half, that they might be drawn together (Vassiliev, 340). This seems also to have been the purpose of golden rings with *δύοινα* and Jn 14²⁷ engraved round the hoop (Dalton, *Catal. of Early Chr. Antig. in the Brit. Mus.*, nos. 130, 132). Instances likewise occur of charms intended to convert love into hatred, and attempts to bring upon men by magic the enmity of all their friends. The table of curses from Puteoli, now in the Berlin Museum (published by Hülsen in the *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1881, p. 309 ff., and by R. Wunsch in Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte*, xx. 7 ff.), affords an example. In order to estrange a bridal pair, a handful of earth taken from a place where two cocks had been fighting was thrown between them. Similar instances might be multiplied.

C. (9) *MALEVOLENT CHARMS*.—How easy is the passage from the useful to the harmful has already been seen in the defensive and protective charms. Magic was pressed into service by the passions of hate and envy, as it had been by the desire for the good things of life; but now we see it employed for purely destructive purposes. The object was to bring ruin upon the health, the possessions, and the reputation of an enemy. We possess from antiquity a vast number of curse-tablets, mostly made of lead, and rolled up as letters, which were buried with the dead in order to ensure their safe delivery to the gods of the under world, into whose power it was desired to hand over the enemy. These tablets, on account of the binding which they were intended to effect, were called *κατάδεσμοι*, Lat. *defixiones* or *dirae*. They exhibit the same medley of heathen, Jewish, and Christian formulæ as the language of magic always does. Their dispatch was often accompanied by a ceremony of binding; or a symbolical figure, as that of a cock in bonds, was drawn upon the tablet itself. The curse is generally directed against a particular individual mentioned by name (it is characteristic that the mother's name as well is nearly always given—*pater incertus, mater certa*); but in a large number of instances its operation is contingent upon the committal of a certain act ('if any one . . . may he . . .'). This last is the form of ecclesiastical curse—the *ἀνθέμα*—to which bodily as well as spiritual effects were attributed, and which certainly exercised a very perceptible social influence under the Christian Empire.

In racing circles, charms were a favourite method of laming one's opponent, or, in the circus, the horses of the opposing party (cf. Arnobius, *adv. Gent.* i. 43). Jerome recounts with all his subtle *naïveté* the story of a Christian jockey who protected his horses against hostile charms by water drawn from the pitcher of St. Hilarion: 'so Christ triumphed over Marna'—the local deity of Gaza (*Vita Hilar.* 20 [PL xxiii. 38]).

Every one believed that by means of charms he could bring all kinds of disease, especially demoniacal possession, upon his enemy, depriving him of bodily and intellectual power, and rendering him impotent. The belief that it was possible to turn men into beasts was as wide-spread in the Middle Ages as in antiquity, and continued from Circe to the witch-trials. In cases of demoniacal possession, the first step in the process of exorcism prescribed by the *rituale Romanum* was the removal of the enchantments under which the victim suffered. The source of greatest danger was the man who sought by charms to destroy his enemy's life. The rumours about the death of Germanicus (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 69) illustrate the great part played by this kind of magic in the ancient world; and Christians cannot be acquitted of the charge of having em-

ployed it. The most prominent method was that of sympathetic magic. In order to reach the heart of an enemy, the heart of an animal or an effigy to which his name was attached was transfixed ('per punctionem imaginum,' Pope John XXII.; see 5 A (1)); human bodies were buried under his door, or a piece of charred wood was deposited before his house.

These methods, though in themselves un-Christian, became another occasion for the misuse of the name of Christ, as well as of Biblical and ecclesiastical formulæ and the invocation of saints and angels. We know, moreover, from the penal ordinances of a synod at Toledo (xvii. [A.D. 694] can. 5=*Decr. Grat.* ii. c. xxvi. qu. 5, c. 13) that clerics, when reading the *missa pro defunctis*, used to introduce the names of living men, whose death they sought thereby to encompass. An official adoption of this form of magic by the Church was the ceremony wherein a burning candle was put out or thrown to the ground in order to extinguish the life and blessedness of the victims of its condemnation. This was done, for example, in the proceedings against unrepentant excommunicates (*insordescentes*) at a synod at Limoges (A.D. 1031). It is a well-attested belief of the Middle Ages that death was in some cases caused by an enemy's prayer (Germ. *Mortbeten, Totbeten*; see Schönbach on Berthold von Regensburg, in *SWAW*, 1900, p. 55). This malevolent magic was generally so far conscious of the ungodliness of its acts as to avoid contact with the Church and ecclesiastical consecration, which would keep off or cripple the Satanic powers; indeed, the sign of the cross and consecrated things served as counter-charms against it. But the forms and instruments of church-worship were, none the less, regarded by it as effective weapons; and this resulted in the travesties of ecclesiastical ritual which appear in Satanism (*q.v.*). Such was the so-called Black Mass, and such was said to be the Mass of the Beardless among the Byzantines (see Krumbacher, *Gesch. der byz. Literatur*², p. 809; A. Heisenberg, *Byz. Zeitschr.* xii. 361, xiv. 661), though the beardlessness was probably adopted by the iconoclasts merely in opposition to the monastic fashion, and was later stigmatized by the orthodox as a token of homage to the devil.

It is further characteristic of this magic to pervert the order of things (*e.g.* psalms were read backwards); or it abbreviates instead of expanding in the repetition, as in *Abracadabra* or *Sator arepo tenet opera rotas* (see, *e.g.*, H. Rott, *Kleinasiat. Denkmäler*, 231; Wulff, no. 1669), repeated with the omission of a letter each time. The ceremonies of walking backwards round a churchyard wall, or throwing something backwards over the shoulder are of the same tendency, and also the custom of turning the mill in the opposite direction (Schmitz, *Bussbücher*, ii. 451).

5. The various means, Christian and non-Christian.—Christianity found innumerable charms of all possible kinds existing in the Græco-Roman world; and, with its extension among the Celts, Germans, and Slavs, more were added. The Christians adopted all these so far as they were consistent with their religious views; but the Church declared war upon everything that seemed to be connected with idolatry, especially upon the use of the names of heathen gods, certain symbols of heathen worship, and heathen places of sacrifice, which were supposed to be the habitation of demons. It is worthy of notice that certain obscene rites—for example, the wearing of a phallus as an amulet—seem to have died a natural death: at least we find no further denunciations of them; the obscene did not re-appear until later in the heretical magic and in witchcraft.

On the other hand, Christianity itself contributed a great number of sacred charms, the permissibility of which was always upheld in opposition to the forbidden charms of heathendom. From the 4th cent. onwards we meet with comparatively few Christian writers who recognize that not only certain forms of magic but the thing itself is un-Christian and idolatrous, and that the use of the Christian name of God, of Biblical formulæ, and so forth, by which it was sought to justify the practice, does not affect the real issue. Chrysostom recognizes this, denouncing the practice of hanging amulets round the necks of sick children even when the name of God is uttered, and when the old woman entrusted with the business passes for a good Christian (*PG* lxi. 105, lxii. 358; cf. Zonaras, *ib.* cxxxvii. 721). So also Eligius of Noyon, according to the biography of Dado or Audoën (*MGH Scr. rer. Merov.* iv. 705, 753, *PL* lxxxvii. 528), says that no one ought to hang *ligamina* round the necks of men and animals even if they have been made by clerical hands and are supposed to be sacred objects containing Biblical texts. Under the influence of Gerson, the Sorbonne in 1398 expressed similar views, maintaining that the use of sacred words could not justify the practice of magic (*Collectio iudiciorum*, i. 2, 154; *Historia Univers. Paris*, iv. 864; P. Féret, *La Faculté de théologie de Paris*, iii. [1903] 188, also in Gerson's *Opera*). Gerson, when met with the objection that the Church herself did the like in pilgrimages and processions and on other occasions, could not altogether deny it:

'Fateor, abnegare non possumus, multa inter Christianos simplices sub specie religionis introducta esse quorum sanctorum esset omissio, tolerantur tamen quia nequeunt funditus erui et quia fides simplicium . . . regulatur tamen et quodammodo rectificatur' ('de erroribus circa artem magicam et articulis reprobatis,' *Opera*, ed. Paris, 1806, i. 622e).

In a similar way Thomas Ebendorfer, an Austrian theologian († 1464), declares in his tract, *de Decem Præceptis*:

'Contra hoc (primum) præceptum faciunt non solum qui colunt pro Deo creaturam, sed etiam qui colunt eum sed modo indebito in vanis et stultis observationibus ut orando contra infirmitates ut febres dolorem dentium aut capitis aliquot Paternoster, sed solum ante ortum solis aut solum tribus quintis ferilis vel flectendo genua,' (*Schönbach, ZVK* xii. [1902] 7).

On the other hand, the authority of Martin of Bracara, can. 72 [75], as recognized by the *Decretum Gratiani*, ii. c. 26 qu. 5, ch. 3, acknowledges as lawful the use of Paternoster and Creed in collecting herbs. And John of Salisbury (*Polycraticus*, ii. 1 [*PL* cxcix. 415 ff.]), with all his repudiations of *inania carmina* and *superstitiosae ligaturae*, decided in favour of the application of Christian charms, quoting the Apostolic authority of Col 3¹⁷ and the example of attested miracles. It was imagined to be God's working against Satan; but in reality it was nothing but driving out devils by Beelzebub, when a copy of the Gospel was substituted as a Christian charm for heathen *ligaturae* (Augustine, see above 4 A (3)), when, instead of amulets, a Christian mother used simply the sign of the cross (Athanasius [*PG* xxvi. 1319]; Chrysostom [lxii. 358]; Theodore of Studium [xcix. 885]; see above, 4 A (1)), or when Gregory's niece Eustenia, when called to a sick person, removed the *ligaturae* which the foolish Arioli had applied and brought oil from the tomb of St. Martin in their place (Greg. of Tours, *Miracula S. Martini*, iv. 36). But these were the methods employed by leading members of the Church, who had a real horror of all pagan and demoniacal magic, and believed themselves to be fighting against it. Elsewhere we meet with the most extraordinary hybrids. The old charms are retained, but labelled, so to speak, as Christian. In incantations the names of heathen deities yield to the names of Jesus and His Apostles, of angels and saints—if

the two are not actually placed side by side. Magic words are displaced by, or combined with, Biblical, the latter often in a language unintelligible to the people, and therefore impressing them as magical. The use of precious stones as charms was continued and based upon Ex 28^{17a} and Rev 21¹⁹. Medicinal herbs were found to contain Christian symbols. The oak-mistletoe, which was sacred to the Druids, was now discovered to be cruciform and was called 'Holy Cross wood'; the fern was called 'Jesus Christ plant,' possibly from the sectional markings on the stalk; the orchid root gained the name of 'St. John's hand'; and the red juice of the St. John's wort was said to come from a drop of Christ's blood.

Through such new interpretations and new colouring, and through the addition of Christian symbols and formulae, the old charms were supposed to be sanctified, and their heathen origin was quickly forgotten. Christian and un-Christian are often so interwoven that it is difficult to trace the true source of the single threads. Moreover, in spite of all ecclesiastical prohibitions, many purely heathen charms remained, and formed the principal component of the whole extensive apparatus of the antagonistic black magic and witchcraft. Finally, the appearance of a retrograde movement must be noticed. Because coins which in Byzantium and under the Frankish kings often bore the sign of the cross and representations of Christ and the saints were therefore used for magical ends, and because modern Roman Catholicism has a number of consecrated medallions, coins which bear no such symbols and medals which are not consecrated are used as talismans, especially in Germany at the festival-marches of rangers and soldiers.

A. CHARMS OF NON-CHRISTIAN ORIGIN.—(1) **THINGS.**—A general survey of the charms used in the ancient pagan world is given by Riess in the art. 'Aberglaube' in Pauly-Wissowa², i. 29-93. There is no stone, metal, plant, or animal, and no member of the human body, that had not its special function. Every atmospheric phenomenon, every time of day and season of the year, and every point of the compass had its significance. Numbers and geometrical figures were all effective. As has been said, all this was adopted and further developed in Christianity.

(a) **Stones.**—The preference for amethysts in *encolpia* and episcopal rings is connected with the ancient belief in the magical properties of this stone. Heliotrope, together with the plant so named, could produce invisibility (Gervasius of Tilbury, iii. 28). Amber was a favourite amulet against fever and gout (Pirminius, *Scarapsus*, 22 [p. 173, ed. Caspari], 'Karactires, erbas, sucinos'). On the power of stones cf. Epiphanius (*PG* xliii. 371 ff. = Anastasius Sin. *Quaest.* 40 [*PG* lxxxix. 588]), Josephus Christ., *Hypomnesticon*, 167 [*PG* cvi. 176], and Michael Psellus [*PG* cxxii. 888-900].

(b) Among metals, gold gained from its freedom from rust a preservative, lead from its dullness a destructive, significance; and the metals had also an astrological meaning, each one corresponding to one of the planets. Connected herewith is the use of rings cast under different constellations and then used as talismans or for purposes of divination. Apollonius of Tyana is said to have had a different ring for each day of the week. The astrological inclinations of the 16th and 17th centuries gave new life to this form of belief. (Perhaps something of the kind is meant by the 'apotelesmatic astronomy' of which Sozomen [iii. 6] speaks with reference to Eusebius of Emesa, unless he means simply astrology in general.) The signs of the zodiac, especially the Lion and the Scorpion, also had magical influence. On a charm containing the names of the planets, see *CIG*, 2895; Schürer,

ZNTW, 1905, 20 ff., and Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, 1908. (A Christian interpretation of all this was attempted in early times by Zeno of Verona, ii. 43 [*PL* xi. 494].) A curious belief was that a nurse could ensure a child against the evil eye by bringing dirt or mud from the baths and smearing it upon his forehead (Chrysostom [*PG* lxi. 106]).

(c) **Herbs and plants** naturally served for purposes of healing. They were, however, used rather as charms than as medicine (Rouen, c. 4 = Burchard, x. 18 [*PL* cxl. 836], cf. the oath of purgation under suspicion of malevolent herb-witchcraft, *PL* lxxxvii. 770, 836 = *MGH Leg.* v. 'Formulae, ordines,' etc., p. 194 f. Zeumer). Roots, especially the mandrake, were readily connected with Solomon or with the 'root of Jesse.' The plant most used as a charm was verberna; betony was a favourite counter-charm (cf. St. Hildegard, *Physica*, i. cxxviii. [*PL* cxviii. 1182]; Schönbach, *op. cit.* p. 35 ff.).

(d) **Animals** (cf. vol. i. p. 495).—As among the Egyptians, so in the Middle Ages many animals were held to afford protection. Ornaments such as a scarabæus or a medusa's head—an apotropaic charm much used by the ancients—are often found in Christian graves (P. E. Newberry, *Scarabs*, 1906). The Church had to combat the use of the horse, the sacrificial animal of the Germans. In Greece the ox-skull was apotropaic; in the north the image of the rapacious wolf was worn as an amulet against attacks of the devil (cf. *ThLLZ*, 1908, p. 299). The fly was the type of demons ('Mart. S. Viti,' *AS*, June, iii. 503). Snakes and mice were highly valued for remedial purposes. The swine is supposed to be a lucky sign by many even to-day. In Byzantium it was the fashion to procure pieces of fur from bear-leaders, mostly as a charm against ophthalmic disease (Trull. can. 61, with the comm. in *PG* cxxxvii. 720). Crossbills and bullfinches could take the disease upon themselves. Owls gave protection against lightning.

(e) **Parts of the body.**—The phallus, so important in antiquity, now disappears. Eye and hand had apotropaic significance. But most important were the hair and nails, which have not inappropriately been called 'the external soul' (Frazer, *GB*² iii. 389 ff.; Hartland, *LP* ii. 30). To work effectively for or against any one, without possessing a fragment of his hair or nail, was well-nigh impossible. Blood of men or animals was eminently endowed with magical properties: smeared on a doorpost it protected the house (Ex 12¹³); as a bath it cured leprosy (Sylvester legends). Most potent of all was the blood of Christ: that is, drops of blood preserved as relics, which were often derived not from Golgotha but from miraculously bleeding crucifixes or from miracles occurring at Mass; to these were attributed workings that were thoroughly magical, and by no means merely religious, in character. Next to the blood, which was regarded as the firmest cement of friendship, and so forth, inherent magical power was ascribed to man's excrement, spittle, urine, etc. In black magic the embryo played so important a part as to lead to the most hideous crimes (cf. e.g. Nicephorus, *Chronogr.*, ad ann. 717 [p. 53, ed. de Boor]). A harmless development was the practice of Byzantine clergy, who received from mothers the present of their infants' swaddling-clothes to wear as amulets (Balsamon [*PG* cxxxvii. 721]).

(f) **Colours** (cf. vol. i. pp. 485, 821) have, of course, significance for magic. Red, the colour of blood, may portend evil, but can also frighten away sickness; blue, the colour of the heavens, is protective, and so on.

(g) On Sounds, see A (2).

(h) **Implements of sympathetic magic, images, etc.**—The use of waxen images for magic purposes was known from the earliest times in Egypt, and a

similar use is found among many peoples, e.g. the Ainus (see vol. i. p. 248). The intention is to act upon a man or a thing by acting upon his representative figure. So, Nectanebo was said to have sunk a whole fleet of his enemy by means of waxen boats. It seems that this form of magic was introduced, through Jewish intercourse, to the West, where it was held in special favour during the 13th and 14th centuries. Philip of France was shown a wax figure which, he was told, was so intimately connected with him by immersion and spells that its destruction would cause his death. The king threw it into the fire and remained unhurt (Gerson, *Opera*, i. 624). On the other hand, Pope John XXII. believed that his life and that of his cardinals was seriously imperilled by the existence of some effigies of this kind, and persecuted the people who had made them. And it was supposed to be possible, by sticking needles into a waxen figure, to bring sickness upon any given person, which would leave him only when the figure was destroyed (*Malleus Malefic.* ii. 11).

These effigies belong for the most part to malevolent magic; but images also played an important part as protective charms. According to the principle 'like repels like,' the best scarecrows were held to be figures of crows set up, if possible, in the four corners of the field; flies were driven away by the representation of a fly upon the signet-ring. These methods were ancient but current in the Middle Ages (cf. Greg. of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* viii. 33, on the brazen images in the *cloaca* of Paris). In the later Middle Ages, Vergil was credited with the invention. He was said to have expelled every fly from Naples by setting up a brazen fly on the city-gates, to have prevented the meat from decaying by adorning the slaughter-house with the representation of a piece of meat; and, by fixing two heads, one laughing and the other weeping, on the Porta Nolana, to have secured for those who entered such issue to their business as they deserved (Gervasius of Tilbury, iii. 16 ff.; cf. Liebrecht, *Gervasius von Tilbury*, p. 98, note, and p. 104, with the parallel instances from all lands). Similarly it was believed that thieves could be kept away by a figure cloaked in black, provided that in the making of the charm a fixed time was observed and its purpose was declared in a solemn formula (Antoine Mizauld, *Memorable sive arcanorum omnis generis curia*, 1574).

(2) ACTIONS.—On the magic which relied upon the power of things without the necessity of personal activity there follows that which works by movements and actions. A number of gestures first call for notice: such are movements of the hand, mostly of a parrying and defensive character (hands modelled in such a position appear also as amulets); then ways of holding the thumb (*pollicem premere*, or *ut dextera manu sinistrum pollicem teneas*), of which Augustine makes sport (*de Doctr. Christ.* ii. 20). As late as the 19th cent. many people in Rome are said to have secretly made such defensive signs while kneeling on the street to receive the Pope's blessing, because an accidental meeting with the Pope was held to be unlucky. As a charm against the evil eye and against infection, spitting was held in esteem. The gesture of touching the pudenda, important in Egyptian magic, was the origin of the well-known obscene ceremonies of witchcraft.

Touching was the most important of all actions in magic, and through touch healing was effected; here the original conception of the transference of power is clearly seen. The most primitive belief attributed the strongest magical power to the tribal chief. Later, the king was regarded as a Divine personage, whose touch therefore had healing virtue, as related of the Roman emperors (Suet.

Vespas. 7; Spartianus, *Hadr.* 25, 1–4), and also believed of the kings of France and England. The royal touch was particularly efficacious against scrofula. Most miraculous cures effected by the saints are said to be due to their touch. The mere invocation of a saint was held to be inadequate—one must touch his bones or his grave. In Padua the rule is to walk round the grave of St. Antony, resting the hand on the marble slabs of the tomb. Touching often took the form of stroking, an action in which a hypnotic is added to the magical effect. Transference of power is the original intention of the laying on of hands (*χειροθεσία*, *manuum impositio*), which is partly protective (an act of blessing), partly a transference of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, productive of special capacity.

Akin to touching is the action of crawling through, or under, some object, which was largely used by pregnant women in order to procure a fortunate delivery. In Arabia and Persia they crawled under a camel, in Sweden through so-called 'elf holes' (openings formed by boughs of trees), elsewhere under stones or through barrel-hoops. Sick children also were drawn three times under an animal or through a hollow in the earth. In love-magic it was the practice to draw some object three times under one's own arm. Another action is swinging or moving in a circle, to make the influence of the charm reach a greater distance through the air. The carrying of a charm round a certain area has a different meaning. Here the purpose is not so much to extend as to limit its action. This was the object of walking round the land which was to be protected and rendered fertile.

A very special importance attaches to the action of binding (hence the names *ligamen*, *ligatura*, etc.). It was performed, of course, with magic words and signs, partly to chain the harmful demon, relying on the fact that a stronger power—Solomon, Michael, Christ, or the Saints—was supposed to have chained him already, and partly with the object of binding the limb of an enemy—his evil tongue, for example. Healing could be wrought by this action, which could also be used malignantly to cause illness. The act of binding is perpetuated as an enduring source of protection in the case of magic knots, mostly adorned with magic characters, that were worn round the neck. The use of the *παιγύρα* of silken thread was forbidden by the Trullan Council (692), can. 61 (see Balsamon, *PG* cxxxvii. 721). An allied form is to bury something from the body of a sick person (hair or nail) or a piece of his clothing, with the object of removing the illness from him. This reminds us of the attempts to transfer a disease (cf. 4 A (3)); often a piece of money was dropped somewhere, in the hope that whosoever picked it up would take over the disease with it.

Anointing, another act of magical significance (cf. vol. i. p. 549 ff.; on *χρίειν* see Denbner, *de Incubatione*, 22), has an official place also in the rites of the Church, at baptism, confirmation (*χρίσμα*), and in extreme unction. Here thoughts of bodily healing are present along with purely spiritual intentions. The act of anointing was much used in healing generally (cf. Mk 6¹³, Ja 5¹⁴). But unguents have also an important place in the paraphernalia of witchcraft. Witches used them upon their own persons in order to acquire power to fly (ride on a broom or drive in a trough through the air), and they anointed others to turn them into beasts or do them some other ill.

Bathing and cleansing were such important ceremonies in magic that the word *περικαθαίρων* was used in a comprehensive sense to include magicians in general, to whose sacrificial exorcism, etc., lustration with consecrated water was a necessary preliminary (see Harnack on *Didache*, iii. 4). The

whole province of counter-charms falls under this head. Of course it was not the washing in itself that was effective, but washing with certain ceremonies, in certain places, and with certain liquids. Chrysostom (*de Pseudoproph.* 7 [PG lix. 561]) mentions such ceremonies in springs by candle-light. Certain springs were considered specially effective. For baptism, water from the Jordan was highly valued. Instead of water, blood or wine was sometimes used for magical purposes.

The use of exciting vapours (Pythonism) and narcotic drinks, made of opium, stramony, hemp, and henbane, is preparatory, and belongs to divination rather than to active magic. So do the exciting motions such as turning, dancing, or mere raging and howling. Noise plays a great part in the affrighting of evil spirits. This is the explanation of the wearing of bells as amulets by men or beasts (see 4 A (1)), ringing bells or shooting in bad weather (4 B (6)). Especially during eclipses of the sun and moon it was thought necessary to make a noise in order to prevent magicians from doing harm to the stars (Arles, can. 5=Burchard, x. 33; pseudo-Aug. *Serm.* 265, 5; Maximus of Turin, *Hom.* 100 [PL lvii. 485]; Rabanus Maurus, *Hom.* 42 [PL cx. 78 ff.]; Ebendorfer, p. 5). In Germany it is the custom also, in order to frighten away evil influences, to make a great noise on the evening before a wedding, and to shoot and crack whips during the bridal procession.

(3) WORDS.—Of special importance is the magic word, the magic formula, whether spoken, or written, or engraved. Magic in general is often named *ἐρασιδίη*, *incantatio*, 'enchantment.' The zeal of the early Church was directed above all things against the use of magic formulæ (e.g. cf. Irenæus, I. xxv. 3, II. xxxii. 5; Hippolytus, *Refut.* ix. 14 f., x. 29). We possess a great number of ancient forms of conjuration—heathen, Jewish, and Christian in stamp. A characteristic of them all, which has not received sufficient notice from their editors, is the ceremonial and stereotyped solemnity of form. The same words are repeated at least three times, and generally five. There is a conventional introduction in narrative form like the 'Vol und Votan fuhren zu Holze' of the well-known formula of Merseburg (ed. J. Grimm, 1842); or 'three angels went to Mount Sinai: there met them seven demons of sickness' (Bartels, *Germania*, xviii. 45 f.; Steinmeyer, *ZDA* xvii. 560; Vassiliev, lxvii. 331, 336). Bartels rightly finds in this something similar to the 'indigamentum' (Usener). A momentary god is to be created, who is useful for the particular end in view. Then follow mysterious invocations, which are repeated at the end. Between these comes the spell, repeated five times with slight variations. The third is generally the most prolix, and the fifth often corresponds with it. The last nearly always (and very often the first or the middle) contains a declaration of the urgency of the business: 'Haste, haste, quick, quick!' The main purpose is repeated as nearly as possible in the same words. In prophylactic amulets the dangers against which protection is desired are enumerated as fully as possible, e.g. the 72 diseases (Vassiliev, 323 ff.); and so are the members of the wearer's body, so that protection may be afforded to them all (Reitzenstein, 295). The parts of the formula on which its working most depends are the names of the god (or saint) by whom the demon is conjured, the demon himself, and the arch-magician whose authority is relied upon. The chief masters of magic we meet with are the Egyptian prophets Sochos, Hermes Trismegistus, Psenosiris, and Nec-tanebo, and most often of all, Alexander the Great, whose cult flourished most vigorously from the time of Alexander Severus, and continued under

the Christian Empire. His reputation as a magician lived throughout the Middle Ages, and gave a charm-value to his coins (cf. Chrysostom, PG xlix. 240). Along with names of gods or as part of their titles, a number of barbarian words were used, of which few have any meaning. For the most part it is through their incomprehensibility that they are believed and intended to be effective. Chrysostom (*in Col.* hom. viii. 5 [PG lxii. 358]) speaks of the names of rivers as much used. The evil that it is desired to heal is often personified, or the evil eye against which protection is sought—*παγκαλία*—is personally addressed. Imperatives containing the actual purpose of the charm become proper names, as in a blood-staunching spell from east Prussia (H. Frischbier, *Hexenspruch und Zauberbann*, 1870, no. 36):

'Es gingen drei heilige Frau'n
Des Morgens früh im Tau'n
Die eine hiess Aloë,
Die zweite hiess Blutvergeh,
Die dritte hiess Blutstillesteh.'

Besides these names, among which inconceivable mutilations of words borrowed from Egyptian and Hebrew are common, we find single letters and groups of letters—in spoken spells, as in the gibberish of Gnostic glossolaly, mostly vowels in all imaginable combinations, and sibilants. In written charms the rarer letters ΞΧΥ, etc., are generally used, frequently in a row of seven or nine, as ΞΥΧΕΤΡΑ or ΧΖΟΙΞΨΧΤΥ. Such are found in the magic papyri (Parthey, I54; Wessely, *DWA W* xxxvi. ii. 91), and also in the letter of Abgar (*ZWT* xliii. 443).

This longer and fuller form of conjuration enjoyed undiminished popularity among the Greeks from pre-Christian times till the 16th cent. (cf. the publications of Deissmann, Reitzenstein, and Pradel, cited in lit. at end of art.). By its side stand the short charm-formulæ, which were generally in poetical shape.


B. CHARMS OF JEWISH ORIGIN.—(4) THE NAMES OF GOD, ANGELS, SOLOMON.—The most important contribution of Jewish magic to the store of charms consists in its various names for God, which often appear in combination with heathen names. In the first place are all imaginable transcriptions of the holy ineffable Tetragrammaton יהוה, the Greek ΠΙΠΙ, over which Christian theologians indulge in extraordinary speculations (Lagarde, *OS*² 228 f.), the renderings 'Iaoue' law, and so forth (A. Deissmann, *Bibelstudien* [1895], 1-20), and its equivalents *Adonai*, often *Adonai sabaoth*, *Eloï*, *Sadaï*, and also 'God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.' And much was given out to be from the Jewish Scriptures that was nothing of the kind (Jerome, *PL* xxii. 687: 'Magis portenta quam nomina, quae . . . quasi de hebraicis fontibus hauriunt'). This is the case in particular with many of the Angel names, in which Jewish magic is most rich, and which were intermingled with the names of heathen gods. The most prominent are Michael, the conqueror of the dragon [Rev 12⁷], who also exercised healing functions (W. Lueken), Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel. Irenæus (II. xxxii. 5) repudiates all *invocationes angelicas et incantationes*, assigning them to the Gnostics (I. xxiv. 5), and the *Decretum Gelas.* forbids *phylacteria omnia quae non angelorum ut illi confingunt, sed daemonum nominibus consecrata sunt*. But all these things were soon accepted by Christian magic. In Egypt, Enoch as the heavenly clerk took the place occupied in former times by Thoth (cf. O. von Lemm, *Kleine Kopt. Studien*, liv. [1908] 521).

From Jewish magic was derived also the important place given to Solomon, who sometimes appears by the side of Alexander the Great and sometimes in his place as the lord and ruler of

spirits. He was said to have shut them in a great bottle, which was exhibited at Jerusalem (*Itinera Hierosol.*, ed. Geyer, p. 21. 8, 153. 10) along with his ring. This was shown by the side of the relics of the cross on Golgotha (*ib.* 88. 24, 107. 13, 154. 4). Solomon was said to have discovered the wonder-working roots which were placed in the magic rings used as early as Vespasian's time by Jewish exorcists to drag the demons out through the noses of sick people (*Jos. Ant.* viii. ii. 5; cf. Fabricius, *Cod. pseudepig. Vet. Test.* i. 1032 ff.; Migne, *Dict. des apocryphes*, ii. 829 ff.). He was also supposed to have been the first elucidator of the virtues of stones and plants (Anastasius Sin. *Quaest.* 41 [*PG* lxxxix. 589]; Glycas [*PG* clviii. 349]). Much use was made of the name of Solomon, his seal, and also his portrait. He was represented on horseback as a dragon-slayer, like the Egyptian god Horus and later St. George (G. Perdrizet, *σφαγὴς Σολομῶνος*, in *REG* xvi. [1903] 42-61; Dalton's *Catalogue*, nos. 155, 156; Wulff, nos. 436 f., 825, 827, 1120).

C. CHARMS OF CHRISTIAN ORIGIN.—Among charms of Christian origin it is noteworthy that the spiritual are the most prominent. First come the name of Jesus, Biblical texts, liturgical formulæ, and prayers. In the second rank stands the sign of the cross, and only a subordinate position is held by properly material objects—just the reverse of the heathen order. This reverse order is here followed.

(5) THE NAME OF JESUS.—The name appears everywhere as the vehicle of the personal powers. He who knows the name of a spirit is its master, and by naming it he awakens its powers to activity. Therefore the names of God were veiled in a certain mystery, especially among the Jews of the Hellenistic era. The magic papyri, on the contrary, seek to win the mastery over them. In the name of Jesus the Christians believed themselves to possess a weapon of quite extraordinary power (cf. Ph 2^o), which could serve alike for healing (cf. Ac 3^a 14^o [*Cod. D*] 16^{is}, Mk 16^o) and for cursing (1 Co 5^o). This testimony of the Apostolic times is abundantly confirmed by the Christians of the 2nd and 3rd centuries (e.g. Justin, *Apol.* ii. 6, *Dial.* 30, 49, 85, 121; Irenæus, ii. xxxii. 3-5; *Orig. c. Cels.* i. 6 [i. 59, ed. Koetschau]; *Acta Johannis*, 31. 41; *Acta Philippi*, 136); the name of Jesus is expressly set in opposition to all heathen spells. And the heathen magic papyri themselves use the name 'Jesus, God of the Hebrews.' To the literary evidence we may add a great mass of inscriptions: in these the name is

generally represented by the monogram . The most important testimony to the weight attached to the name of Jesus is the fact that even Jews use it as an amulet along with the names of the three Magi (see Berliner, *Aus dem Leben der deutschen Juden im Mittelalter*, 1900, pp. 97, 105). H. Suso, the great German mystic, is said to have had the name of Jesus tattooed on his breast. Is this a talisman or a love-charm? The cult of the name of Jesus was given a special impetus by Bernardinus of Siena († 1444), who always carried before him the sign IHS on a flaming disk. This was not only an abbreviated form of preaching, but a magic sign, as is shown by its appearance on amulets; and the same may be said of the Christ-monograms, and, since the time of the Jesuits, the Jesus-monograms on churches, houses, tombstones, and elsewhere; these stand not merely for marks of faith or for ornament, but have rather an apotropaic significance (cf. Index lxi. in *PL* ccix. 484 ff.).

(6) BIBLICAL FORMULÆ.—After the name of Jesus it was in the Gospels that His power was supposed in a special degree to reside. On the use of the Gospels in the administration of oaths and

in acts of consecration, see art. BIBLE IN THE CHURCH, vol. ii. p. 611. Chrysostom (*in Matt.* hom. 72 [*PG* lviii. 669]) and Isidore Pelus. (*Ep.* ii. 150 [*PG* lxxviii. 604]) inform us that Christian women used to wear little Gospels round their necks after the manner of Jewish *tephillin*; but these were very likely only single texts from the Gospels (cf. E. Nestle, *ZNTW* vii. 96). John of Salisbury (*Polycr.* ii. 1 [*PL* cxcix. 416]) testifies in the 12th cent. to the efficacy of *capitula Evangelii gestata, vel audita, vel dicta*. Most to be recommended was the prologue to St. John, either the first fourteen verses or only the first verse (cf. A. Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter*, 1902, pp. 595, 150). The Lord's Prayer is second to it. On the potsherd of Megara, for example (Knopf, *ZNTW* ii. 228; E. Nestle, *ib.* 347), as well as in many inscriptions, it certainly has an apotropaic significance; it occurs in nearly all Christian spells, often to be repeated more than once; it is written *ἀντιστρώφως καὶ ἐναλλάξ* (Vassiliev, p. lxxi); it must be recited during the gathering of herbs to give them healing virtue (this is expressly stated in *Corp. Juris Can. decr.* ii. c. 26, qu. 5, c. 3 = Martin of Bracara, c. 75). For purposes of cursing, texts from the Psalms were esteemed, for the Psalter was held to be a powerful defence against demons. A number of leaden tablets containing Psalms have lately been found. St. Barsauma the Naked († 1317) wrote out Ps 20 and 27 as amulets for his visitors (W. E. Crum, *PSBA*, 1907, pp. 196, 198). For a 'slaying prayer' (cf. 4 C (9)), Ps 108, 'Deus laudem,' was most used, also Ps 109 or 94. And the lessons for certain feast-days served special purposes (Vassiliev, 341). Apocryphal texts were also used. The Epistle of Christ to Abgar enjoyed great popularity as an apotropaic charm. The legend states that this epistle, affixed to the gate of Edessa, saved the town from a Persian attack (v. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 1893, p. 103 f.). It is found on the door-lintels of 5th cent. houses and churches in Asia Minor (for Ephesus, see Heberdey, *Jahresheft des oesterr. archäol. Instituts*, 1900, pp. 90-95; for Gurdja, Anderson, *JHS* xx. [1900] 156 ff.). How serviceable it proved in this way throughout the Middle Ages we learn from the many assurances at the end of Greek, Coptic, Slavic, and Latin texts, which show that it was worn as an amulet against bewitchment, hail, lightning, etc., and employed as a remedial charm in sickness (see, e.g., *ZWT* xliii. 470):

'Et salvus eris, sicut scriptum: qui credit in me salvus erit, sive in domo tua sive in civitate tua sive in omni loco. Nemo inimicorum tuorum dominabit, et insidias diaboli ne timeas et carmina inimicorum tuorum destruentur et omnes inimici tui expellentur a te, sive a grandinis sive a tonitruo non noceris et ab omni periculo liberaberis. Sive in mare sive in terra sive in die sive in nocte sive in locis obscuris, si quis hanc epistolam secum habuerit securus amulet in pace.'

The custom of inscribing the Epistle to Abgar in houses survived in England even into the 18th cent. (v. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 179, no. 6).

(7) LITURGICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL.—The liturgy provided magic with a very considerable number of powerful formulæ. Many of them are certainly of Biblical origin; but their use in magic is due to their position in the liturgy. An example is the *Trisagion*, the Angels' song, which easily held the first rank in importance; the three-fold *εὐχα* is found also on Jewish amulets. Biblical in origin, and liturgical in use, are the name 'Emmanuel' or 'Deus nobiscum'; the forms *IC XC NIKA*, 'Christus regnat,' 'Christus vincit' (which occur also on coins); and the words from Rev 5^b *ἐνίκησεν ὁ λέων ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα, ἡ βῆτα Δαυεὶδ*. A favourite among the many Trinitarian formulæ was 'God is my hope, Christ is my refuge, the Holy Ghost is my defence' (cf. Sâbas, *Vita S. Joannis*, ch. 10 [*AS*, Nov., ii. i. 341]). Christ very

often forms a triad with the angels Gabriel and Michael—an interpretation of Gn 18². This is probably the meaning of the much-used character ΧΜΡ, which has been taken also to represent Χριστὸν Μαρία γεννᾷ, or by *gematria*=643=ἅγιος ὁ θεός or ἡ ἀγία τριάς θ' (=θεός) (see J. Krall, *Corp. Pap. Rayn.*, Kopt. Texte, i. 5 [1895]; Dalton's Catalogue, no. 958; *Berl. phil. Wochenschr.*, 1906, p. 381 ff. [Nestle], 510 [Dieterich]; W. E. Crum, *Arch. Rep. of the Egypt. Explor. Fund.*, 1905-6, p. 76; 1906-7, p. 74). ἀββὰ δ πατήρ ἐλέησον occurs on amulets (ARW x. 398). The Benedictus-medallions contain the initial letters of *Cruz Sacra Sit Mihi Lux: Nunquam Draco Sit Mihi Dux; and Vade Retro Sathana, Nunquam Suede Mihi Vana, Sunt Mala Quae Libas, Ipse Venena Bibas* (Beringer, *Ablässe*, 350 ff.). Spells sometimes contain the κύριε ἐλέησον, and also liturgical formulæ such as the cry of the deacon: στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ. In Western Christianity the Apostles' Creed holds a position parallel with the Lord's Prayer. It is used for healing, especially in exorcism (John of Salisbury, *Polycr.* ii. 1 [PG cxlix. 416]).

(8) PRAYERS.—Even more use was made of prayers. However certainly true prayer is something quite different from the desire to exercise magic influence upon the Deity, the formulæ of prayer are readily converted into magic spells. This has been seen in the magic use of the Lord's Prayer. The boundary between prayer and spell is always indistinct. Vassiliev (323 ff.) reproduces a document which begins as a prayer and ends as a spell, with a long invocation of saints between. The prayers of Christian magic are generally constructed after the heathen pattern (see 5 A (3)); only an attempt is made, through the Biblical predicates by which God is invoked, and through abundant references to Biblical history, to give them the stamp of legitimate Christianity. Many of them bear famous names, such as that of St. Gregory, where the most obvious reference is to Gregory Thaumaturgus, though it may also be Gregory of Nazianzus, or, in the West, Pope Gregory I. Prayers were often taken from the legends of the saints for this purpose, e.g. the prayer of Judas Kyriakos from the legend of the Invention of the Cross (in *Papyrus d'Anastasy*, 9), the dying prayer of the Theotokos from the Koimesis, prayers of St. Paphnutios, St. George (cf. *Byzant. Zeitschr.* xii. 547), or Cyprian the magician. A healing virtue was attributed to the prayers said to be composed by the Apostle Paul (against the bite of snakes, Ac 28⁸ [Vassiliev, 330]), or by Luke the Evangelist and 'beloved physician' (Col 4¹⁴).

The introductory narratives of these magic prayers are often touchingly naive (cf. 5 B (3)): Uproar arises in heaven; all the angels hurry hither and thither, till Christ asks what is amiss; it is a woman who cannot be delivered; then He sends forth the angels, and so on. Or Christ is walking with Peter: He hears complaints, and learns from Peter that a woman is confined, and bids her be summoned to Him. Or Christ coming from Paradise sees a hind, etc. (O. von Lemm, *Kleine Kopt. Studien*, liv.).

In the later Middle Ages, prayers endowed with special indulgences, as those addressed to Christ's napkin (Veronica), to the blood of Jesus, His seven wounds, His measure, and also invocations to the saints, were much used as protective charms, as may be seen from the notices appended to them. This was the purpose of many of the earliest printed pamphlets—sheets containing such prayers—which were produced in great numbers in Italy.

(9) THE HOLY CROSS.—The Holy Cross, as the protective charm most used by Christians, deserves a special notice. There is no need here to discuss what significance may have been attached in pre-

Christian times to various forms of the cross (see art. CROSS), for in any case Christianity gave a prominence to this symbol above all others, loaded it with Christian thoughts, and claimed it for its own peculiar possession. It soon became a conventional form, dominating the ground-plans of churches, appearing in processional crosses, crosiers, *encolpia*, votive crosses, crosses engraved or scratched on wood, stone, and metal. Crosses let into the floor were forbidden, because it would be unseemly to tread upon them (*Cod. Just.* i.; Conc. Trull. [A.D. 692], can. 73 [Mansi, xi. 976]). In the Greek Church a cross was erected (σταυροπήγιον) where a piece of ground was to be sanctified. Three crosses drawn in the sand by St. Hilarion prevented Epidaurus from being flooded by a stormy sea. Most of the monastic saints worked their miracles by their cruciform staffs, σιδηροῦν σταυρον, σταυρόντυπος σιδηρὰ βακτηρία (e.g. Joannikios, *AS*, Nov., II. i. 344, 402). Mediaeval justice used, among other ordeals, the trial of the cross: the opposing parties were stationed against crosses with their arms outstretched; he who first let his drop was guilty. Even sorcery dragged the crucifix into its service, though only as an object of insult: to shout at a crucifix on Good Friday was a means of becoming a *Freischütz*; pieces broken from a crucifix render their wearers invulnerable.

But far more general is the practice of making the sign of the cross with the hand on breast, forehead, and all parts of the body, for protection against all kinds of danger. With the sign of the cross the Christian is sealed (σφραγίς) in baptism, and secured at once against all malevolent witchcraft. This belief is as early as Tertullian (*de Cor. Mil.* 3): 'ad omnem progressum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum et exitum, ad vestitum et calciatum, ad lavacra, ad mensas, ad lumina, ad cubilia, ad sedilia, quaecumque nos conversatio exercet, frontem signaculo terimus.' In a similar way, Cyril of Jerusalem describes to his catechumens how the whole Christian life is permeated by the sign of the cross: it was made at rising, dressing, going out, at table, and on going to bed (cf. Cyr. *Catech.* xiii. 36 [PG xxxiii. 816]: μέγα τὸ φυλακτήριον). It was the surest defence against demons, and the remedy for all diseases. There are a number of *enkomia* (e.g. pseudo-Chrys. PG I. 819; pseudo-Ephr. *Opp. gr.* ii. 247; ancient Nubian text, ed. H. Schäfer and C. Schmidt, *SBAW*, 1907, xxii.; Joh. Damasc. *de Fide Orth.* iv. 11) in which the cross is called τρόπαιον κατὰ δαιμόνων, διαβόλου νίκος, ναῶν καθαίρεσις, βρωμῶν ἀνατροπή, κνίσσης ἀφανισμός, νοσούντων ἰατρός, λεπτῶν καθαρισμός, παραλυτικῶν σφίγις, etc. These phrases may originally have been intended figuratively to clothe a purely spiritual thought, but later they were understood quite literally. Then we read of a temple falling in ruins before the sign of the cross made by an Apostle. Ignatius (*ad Eph.* 9) speaks of the cross as the μηχανὴ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ which lifts us up on high (spiritually); in the *Mart. Matthaei*, 26, it is the coffin containing the Apostle's body which is lifted up from the bottom of the sea by means of a miraculous cross. John makes the sign over a cup of poison, and drinks it in safety; Benedict causes the vessel of poison to fly in pieces by means of this sign; a cancer is healed by it (*Aug. de Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8); by a mere sign of the cross St. Martin turns aside a tree that was falling upon him, keeps fire away, and drives the flames against the wind. St. Columban opens locks and bolts by its means; Eligius increases a quantity of wine miraculously, and heals a blind man (*PL* lxxxvii. 500, 503); Bernardinus of Siena keeps off a storm of rain that threatens to interrupt his preaching. Even Julian the Apostate is said, in fear of his demon, to have made the sign of the cross and learnt its power (Greg. Naz. *Or.* iv. 55

[*PG* xxxv. 577]). The symbol acquired special importance in the Crusades; it adorned the coats and arms of the crusaders, not merely as a badge of faith, but as a means of security and victory. Its protection was extended even to their relatives at home, as when the wife of one of them was assisted in her travail by her husband's crusader's cloak (Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dial.* x. 22).

The cross is inviolate; a fire that burnt to ashes a house and all that it contained spared the piece of a garment on which a cross was embroidered (*ib.* 32, 33). The emblem of the saving cross was found everywhere in Nature (Physiologus, xl. [p. 270, ed. Lauchert]).

(10) THE SACRAMENTS.—Though the significance of the acts of worship named by the Greek Christians 'mysteries,' and by the Latins 'sacraments,' is properly wholly spiritual, it was extended in the popular religion to the natural life. The official teaching of the Church could not prevent a magical interpretation being given even to their religious effects. Baptism was held to cleanse *ipso facto* from all sin; children who die after baptism attain immediate blessedness; the unbaptized are doomed to hell, or at least to a *limbus infantium*. The communion administered as *viaticum* serves to ensure blessedness in the future life (*exitum munire*), and so does extreme unction. Moreover, to both sacraments thoughts of bodily healing were attached. By baptism a doctor loses his gout, and an actor his paralysis (Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8). In the Sylvester legend the Emperor Constantine becomes free from his leprosy in baptism; this may be an answer to the criticism of Julian the Apostate, who complained of the absence of such physical effects in baptism (*adv. Christ.* i. 209, ed. Neumann). Caesarius of Heisterbach (x. 43–45) relates similar instances, with the just comment: 'licet enim baptismus medicina sit animae, multi tamen illius virtute sanitatem corporis consecuti sunt.' The communion is equally effective: instead of reciting *praecantationes* and employing *characteres*, *fumigare*, *fascinum*, the sick man should rather come to church, receive the body and blood of Christ, and use the holy oil (pseudo-Aug. *Serm.* 279, 5 [*PL* xxxix. 2273]); in the church is to be found the twofold cure for soul and body (*ib.* 265, 3 [p. 2238]). A communicant is for the next day safe against all malevolent magic (Anast. Sin. *Narr.* 48, 50; *Oriens Christ.* iii. 68, 70), and even certain of victory in a duel (Caesarius of Heisterbach, ix. 48). Many a knight setting out for the wars, and many a soldier too in modern times, has thought through the communion to render himself impervious to sword and shot. The way in which this sacrament was regarded is shown by the use of the elements as amulets (*e.g.* Anast. Sin. *Narr.* 43, 63), and even as fertility- and love-charms (see above, 4 B (5) and (8): this is most profusely illustrated for the 13th cent. by Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dial. Mirac.* dist. ix.). They were also used for the conviction of accused persons, or to prove innocence; cf. *e.g.* Lotharius II. before Pope Hadrian, A.D. 869 (Regino *ad ann.* 869). This *purgatio canonica* in clerical trials took the place of the oath of purgation. The reception of the communion by Gregory VII. and Henry IV. at Canossa was so understood by the people (see Lambert's *Annals*, *ad ann.* 1077).

The *sacramentalia* had the same attributes, especially the holy oil; it was repeatedly found necessary to prohibit the priests from supplying holy oil *ad iudicium subvertendum* (Metz [A.D. 888], can. 6 = Burchard, iv. 80; Regino, i. 72 [*PL* cxxxii. 206]). Holy water, incense, consecrated salt, and wax from the altar candles were much used; for remedial purposes, holy water, oil, or bread was

serviceable (for some examples among hundreds see *Vita S. Cuthberti*, 25, 29, 30, 31 [*PL* xciv. 765 ff.]). Even the water with which the priest washed his hands after Mass was used by the devout as an antidote against sickness, or as a fertility-charm. Caesarius of Heisterbach, however, after relating for the edification of his readers a long series of these anecdotes, declares that it is not well-pleasing in the sight of God, *si ad aliquos usus temporales sacramenta illa convertantur*.

(11) RELICS.—Among the material instruments of Christian magic, the relics of Christ and the saints call for first notice (cf. art. RELICS). Of these, pieces of wood from the Holy Cross were most treasured, after its supposed discovery by Helena. Gregory's sister Macrina wore an iron cross as an amulet (Gregory of Nyssa, *PG* xli. 989), but later we find wooden crosses (Jerome on Mt 23^o [*PL* xxvi. 175]). Most *encolpia* contained them (Anast. Sin. *Narr.* 45, 53; *Oriens Christ.* iii. 65, 79).

Nails even from a gallows were supposed to be effective charms, and, of course, the holy nails from the cross possessed extraordinary virtue. Yet the ancient legend did not shrink from relating that Helena had them worked into the bridle and stirrups of her son Constantine as talismans and for a profane purpose; later they were greatly revered as relics. But every saint possessed healing and protective power, and this power resided in every particle of his body; so *λεψάνα ὀφθαλμοῦ* were worn as phylacteries (Theophanes, p. 446, ed. de Boor). The relics of St. Gratus quenched a forest fire at Aosta in 1542. On the death of a revered monk in Byzantium, a struggle ensued among the populace for possession of his cloak and even his hair and teeth, which they desired as talismans (*e.g.* *Vita Eustratii*, 39 [Papadopoulos Kerameus, *Anal.* iv. 393]). In the West such dismemberment of dead saints was, at least in theory, forbidden. As substitutes, any objects served which had been in contact with the saint himself, his dead body, or his grave. As specially gifted persons could heal by a touch of their hands, so garments worn by them could convey this healing power (Ac. 5¹⁵ 19¹²; cf. *e.g.* Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dial. Mirac.* x. 5, 6). But it sufficed merely to have brought one's own garments into contact with the saint's grave and then to lay them over a dying man in order to save his life; or to touch with a flower first the reliquary and then the eyes of a blind man (Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8). Oil from a saint's grave (*i.e.* from the lamps burning there) was much esteemed: *e.g.* from the shrine of St. Stephen at Uzala (Aug. *Sermo* 32); but in the legend it became a miraculous spring of *myron* flowing from the shrine. Such oil was sent far and wide. At Golgotha all manner of things were consecrated by contact with the sepulchre. A similar production of relics was carried on, on a great scale, at the graves of the Apostles Peter and Paul, which were particularly suited thereto, because it was possible to reach the deep-lying sarcophagus through holes in the covering slab of marble (H. Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, i. 271 ff.). A great number of pieces of wool, cloth, or whatever it might be, were consecrated by contact with the Holy Sepulchre and then called *eulogia* (Drews, *Zeitschr. f. prakt. Theol.* xx. 18 f.), and in the West *brandea*, to be used as charms for various purposes, especially as amulets. But the grave of any saint could serve the purpose, and the nature of the object used was quite immaterial. Gregory of Tours (*de Virt. S. Juliani*, 45) says very characteristically: 'accedite ad Martyris tumulum et aliquid exinde ad aegrotum deportate,' and in fact a little dust brought and administered to the patient in water proved most effective. Dust from

the rock of the oratorium of St. Calminius or from the grave of St. Felix of Bourges, taken in water, was a remedy for fever. Thus it is quite a natural development whereby modern Roman Catholicism no longer allows actual relics to fall into private hands, and offers as substitutes consecrated rosaries, medallions, etc. Where this consecration is not merely sacramental, accomplished by their use at Mass or immersion in holy water and so forth, it is derived from contact with a shrine, a martyr's grave, or a relic.

(12) PICTURES, etc.—The power of a saint extended from objects connected with his person to pictures and statues, which were regarded by no means as aids to contemplation, but as signs of the actual presence of the saint himself. Greek theologians proved, with the help of Neo-Platonic mysticism, the real association of *archetypos* and *ektypoma*. Their use as charms was most prominent among the Greeks and, under Greek influence, among the Slavs. It is very interesting to observe how in the legend of Edessa the portrait of Christ superseded the letter to Abgar as protector of the town; it was placed over the city-gate, and, when an attempt was made to set fire to the town in time of siege, some oil from the lamp that burnt perpetually before it was sprinkled upon the flames, which it turned against the besiegers. Byzantine ships nearly always carried images of the Madonna for protection against storm, as the heathen ships had carried *palladia* or images of the Dioscuri. In Rome, figures of St. Symeon Stylites guarded every workshop (Theodoret, *Relig. Hist.* 26 [PG lxxxii. 1473]; Joh. Damasc. *de Imag.* i. 27 [PG xciv. 1253]). No Greek or Roman house was without its saint, which took the place of the ancient *penates*, as the protective genius of the home. Famous pictures and images were washed at high feasts, and the water, sanctified in the process, was scattered over the congregation for their benediction (in Edessa as in Rome; cf. v. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, pp. 66, 163, 112**). In Edessa this water was used as a lotion for the eyes. Water with which portraits of saints had been washed, or into which some colour had been scraped off them, was administered to invalids as medicine.

The Western peoples were at first rather timid of such uses; but after the 9th cent. the belief in images was established among them also. Statues of patron saints erected over town- and castle-gates, pictures on the walls (in churches, pictures by preference of Michael or Christopher; in private houses, of Florian and Agathe, who kept off lightning and fire), and representations on amulets, all had apotropaic significance. In time of pest appeared painted or, later, printed sheets with pictures of St. Sebastian or St. Rochus, often with prayers and, in some cases, hygienic directions appended, which certainly were intended to give protection, and not merely as devotional objects (P. Heitz, *Pestblätter des XV. Jahrh.*, Strassburg, 1901).

Special virtue was, of course, assigned to pictures of miraculous origin, and also to copies of them. This and the indulgences connected with it are the causes of the extensive circulation of the shroud portrait (Veronica). Another important charm in and after the 15th cent. was the so-called measure of Christ, a length taken presumably from the holy sepulchre (G. Uzielli, *Misure lineari medioevali*, 1899). It was employed, e.g., in witch trials (*Malleus malefic.* iii. 16); joined with a prayer it served as an amulet (Uzielli, *L'Orazione della Misura di Cristo*, 1901, p. 10).

6. The application of charms.—(1) *Preliminary requirements*.—The satisfaction of a number of personal conditions is as necessary a preliminary to charm-working as it is to worship; the chief

is freedom from sin and especially from sexual pollution, wherefore children were frequently entrusted with the operation, e.g. in drawing lots (cf. in early times Apuleius, *de Magia*, ii. 47, ed. Bipont.) and in clairvoyance; pregnant women were also employed. A preliminary fast, such as was necessary to the reception of a revelation, was also frequently required.

A peculiarity of magic is its fear of knots: every knot represents a binding, and may therefore carry a counteractive force. Therefore the clothing must be free from all knots; complete absence of clothing was abhorred in the Christian Church, though common in black magic. For similar reasons it was generally necessary to hold the breath; and silence was ordained, since any word might break the spell or introduce the disturbing influence of another spell. Above all, no names might be mentioned, for they are to a special degree endowed with magic powers. This is the explanation of the endeavour to write spells so that they could not easily be read, either in foreign letters (for a Greek spell in Latin characters, see G. Maspero in *Collections du Musée Alaoui*, i. 101 ff.; for an Italian spell in Greek letters, Pradel, *loc. cit.*). This custom may prove the magical purpose of the well-known copies of the Apostles' Creed, Greek in Latin characters in the Aethelstan Psalter, Latin in the Codex Laudianus.

Time and place are, of course, important; charms are especially, and sometimes exclusively, efficacious if applied before sunrise; midnight is the hour of spirits; certain days in the year, once heathen festivals, such as the winter and summer solstices, and later converted into Christian saints' days, are significant for certain forms of magic; and lastly come the phases of the moon.

Magic had also its holy places. In heathendom these were springs, trees, and cross-roads, where gods or demons were supposed to have their abode. But the Church regarded them askance, and erected crucifixes at such places to break the evil spell. The magic which enjoyed the Church's approval naturally gave the preference to consecrated spots, churches, and chapels, or clung to their neighbourhood in churchyards.

During the preparations the purpose must never be forgotten; the Lord's Prayer must be recited during the collection of herbs; the manufacture of wax effigies must be accompanied by the express declaration of the purpose for which they are to serve. Great stress is always laid, as in the Church's sacramental teaching, on the intention. Certain conditions regulated the material employed. For amulets the skin of unborn calves (*pergamentum virginum*), and, next to it, leather from a lion's skin were most valued; for curses, leaden tablets or old potsherds. Things taken from a churchyard or a gallows were precious to black magic, especially if they were stolen or acquired by irregular means.

(2) *Manner of application*.—According to the nature of the effect contemplated, the application of a charm may be a single act or the establishment of a permanent condition; protective charms are thus permanently operative. The mere fact of their presence is sufficient, and there is no need for them to be seen, known of, or believed in. Fertility of the land is also secured by the mere presence of relics (e.g. the relics of SS. Abdon and Sennen in Arles), without the necessity of special processions at every season. It is, indeed, presumed that reverence is paid to them, and the omission to celebrate their festivals may have evil consequences. Apulia was punished by St. Mark with drought for this reason. Neglect can turn a beneficent charm into a source of injury.

But generally the application of a charm pro-

ceeded through a number of actions, carrying, touching, etc. (see 5 A (2)), and, above all, through recitation (*ib.* (3)). These ceremonies generally bore the character of a senseless hocus-pocus, calculated only to impress the superstitious. But originally they must have been inspired by magic thoughts, *i.e.* by the desire to work upon the spirits. How much actual fraud they contain, and whether the charm-working magicians themselves believed in the efficacy and necessity of all their operations or practised with fraudulent intention upon the credulity of their adepts, are questions which altogether elude the researches of scientific inquiry.

(3) *Manner of working.*—The working of a charm is generally conceived to follow immediately *ex opere operato*: the amulet protects, the spell banishes the disease, the love-potion works love, and so on. Belief in their efficacy on the part of those who use them is, of course, assumed; but it was originally supposed that they could work upon people who neither knew of them nor believed in them. Only afterwards, when the desired effect failed to appear, the explanation offered itself that unbelief on the other side hindered the working; but generally failure was attributed to a counter-charm. The instructions often reckon with the possibility that the effect may not be immediate, and in such cases direct more frequent repetition, a stronger formula, or the adoption of an additional charm. The experience that not every charm is at once efficacious was the cause of the multiplication and mixing of different charms and formulae.

It is an important principle, moreover, that the charm does not work directly only upon the person to whom it is applied. It was possible to undergo the ordeal as a substitute for another; and there is an instance of some water which had been poured over a copy of the prayer of St. Paul being administered vicariously to the messenger who announced that some one else had been bitten by a snake (Vassiliev, 331).

The working is often subject to certain conditions. St. Benedict freed a cleric from a demon so long as he neither ate flesh nor performed priestly functions; so soon as he broke either of these conditions, the demon again took possession of him. Bartels calls this making terms with the devil. Those who made such compacts rejoiced to outwit the foolish devil by fixing an impossible date for his return, *e.g.* when Christ is born again of Mary, or when Christ shall write a new Gospel.

On the other hand, it is demanded in many cases that a time-limit shall be set to the working of the spell, which must be loosed at a certain moment: *e.g.* in the enchantment of wasps, which must last only so long as the peasant is out in the fields with his cattle. Then the wasps must be freed, that their lives may be preserved.

The science of the *Aufklärung* declared all these charm-workings to be humbug, ghost-stories, old wives' tales, and completely devoid of reality. But Romanticism took a new interest in them, set about collecting the materials, and to some extent revived beliefs in their actuality. The modern science of religion has no cause to deny that in many cases a real effect was wrought; but it seeks to explain such effects psychologically by suggestion, physiologically by the action of narcotics, and so forth. The important task which must first be accomplished is to collect and arrange the abundant material, not overlooking the differences amongst the many similar phenomena occurring in different races and at different times, and with great caution to determine the mutual influences of the different civilizations.

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E. VON DOBSCHÜTZ.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Egyptian).—

Egyptian religion is so intermingled with magic, that it is difficult to separate the properly religious elements from mere charms and incantations. Magical spells or charms occur in considerable numbers. We have whole books of them, and they often appear in the medical papyri.

If we consider first the spells which have chiefly a protective character, the so-called magic papyrus Harris furnishes good examples of them. It consists of two parts. The title of the first is: 'Chapter of the songs which disperse the immersed' (i.e. all dangerous animals lurking in the water). The spell is a long hymn to the god Shu:

'Hail to thee, divine flesh of Ra, elder son issued from his ody, selected by him previous to his birth.'

The hymn is interesting by reason of its style, and of what we learn about the religious doctrine, in sentences such as this:

'O unique Lord issuing from the Nu (water)! O divine substance self-created! O maker of the substance which is in himself!'

Sometimes his defensive power is alluded to:

'Thou repellst the crocodile coming out of the abyss, in that name which is thine, Repeller of Crocodiles.'

The reptile itself is addressed:

'Stand back, crocodile Maka, son of Set, do not steer with thy tail, do not move thy arms, do not open thy mouth; be the waters before thee turned to a burning fire.'

Occasionally we find a rubric like this:

'This chapter is recited, an egg from . . . being given into the hand of a person at the prow of the boat; anything coming out of the water is thrown again into the water.'

All the first part contains formulæ for closing the mouth of the crocodile and preventing dangerous beings from coming out of the water. The second part, called 'Book of the spells for remaining in the country,' is meant to protect the inhabitants of the country against wild beasts, such as lions, hyænas, and leopards. Regarding neither of the two parts do we know by whom it is to be read, or on what occasion it may be effective. Magical spells of the same description are found, more or less, among all nations of antiquity, and are not peculiar to Egypt.

Another kind of charms may be called *medical spells*. They are intended to ensure that a remedy shall be effective. We find many examples in the medical papyri, the largest of which, the papyrus Ebers, has been called the pharmacopœia of the ancient Egyptians. The following formula dispels white spots from the eyes:¹

'When there is thunder in the southern sky in the evening, and storm in the northern sky; when the pillar falls into the water, then the seamen of Ra flourish their stakes, but their heads fall into the water. Who is it who will bring and find them? I am he who brings them, I am he who has found them. I bring you your heads and I raise your necks. When I have put in its place every thing which has been cut off from you, then I shall bring you that you may expel the god of fever and of death. To be said over the brain of a turtle mixed with honey which is put on the eyes.'

Here is one which seems to act by its own magical power.² It is taken from a collection of such spells:

'Another incantation for the head. The head belongs to Horus, and the place of the head to Thoth. My mother Isis and her sister Nephthys are keeping watch over me. They give my head. . . . This chapter is said over threads made in knots and put on the left foot of a man.'

We might quote a great number of similar charms. A papyrus of the Museum in Berlin contains nothing but spells for the birth of a child, for the milk of the mother, and for illnesses of the infant.³ Generally there are mythical allusions, often very fragmentary and obscure; then comes a rubric like this:

'This spell is to be said over three heads—one of lapis-lazuli another of jasper, and another of malachite—threaded together; they are to be hung to the neck of a child.'

We hardly understand the mythical names or allusions which are contained in those spells; and it is doubtful whether the Egyptians themselves understood them better. We must remember that it is the characteristic of magical words to be obscure and mysterious; otherwise they would lose most of their virtue.

A curious kind of incantations are those which consist not of more or less disconnected sentences, but of a myth or story with a definite purpose.

We hear, for instance, of the goddess Isis, who desired to be equal in power with her father Ra.⁴ The only means of having her wish fulfilled was to know the mysterious and hidden name of her father. She therefore devised a stratagem. She caused Ra to be bitten by a serpent; the pain of the wound was so intolerable that the voice of the old king reached the sky and all the gods flocked around him. Ra is described as expatiating at great length upon his sufferings, which the crafty goddess does not attempt to relieve until her father consents to be searched by her, so that she may get hold of his mysterious name. Then only does she call on the venom to go out of the body of Ra. The narrative ends here; but we are told that this story is to be said to, or, as the Egyptians say, over, figures of Tum, Horus, and Isis, which will thus be made talismans against the serpents. This story is to be written also on the piece of cloth put around the neck of a person. It is then a powerful remedy.

¹ Papp. Ebers, pt. lviii. 7.

² Pleyte, *Étude sur un rouleau magique du Musée de Leyde*, 1866, p. 54.

³ Erman, *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind*, 1901.

⁴ Lefébure, 'Un chapitre de la chronique solaire,' *ZA*, 1883.

We see that the purpose of this myth is not literary; it is medical, as is the case with several Egyptian myths. We might quote another, where Horus, the son of Isis, is restored to light by Thoth. This narrative is said to be a talisman used by the inhabitants of Buto against bites of scorpions and serpents.¹ This is undoubtedly the most interesting class of charms, since in a certain measure they bear a literary character, which we did not find before, and which does not exist in the most common kind of spells, the amulets.

An *amulet* is properly an ornament with a magical power, which is worn as a preservative against mischief and evil. This definition would hardly apply to the considerable number of objects which are found in Egyptian tombs, and which very often are models on a small scale of tools or instruments of ordinary life. Generally the name 'amulets' has been applied to a great part of the paraphernalia which are given to the mummy, or drawn on the coffin of the deceased and on the walls of the tomb. It is not every one of these objects that possesses magic influence; they are not all supposed to be preservatives or to be symbols. They certainly were not so at the beginning. In later times they assumed a religious meaning, and became either magical or symbolical. Thus we read in a Roman text from the temple of Denderah, that, on the festival of the burial of Osiris, 104 amulets made of gold and precious stones were given to him. Every one of them was supposed to have a special virtue which we do not know; in the case of most of them, we are not in possession of the mystical formulæ explaining why they were amulets and what was their meaning. When these formulæ are extant, as is the case with several mentioned in the Book of the Dead, we can hardly say that we fully understand them, and that we have discovered the esoteric meaning. The words under which this meaning is hidden are simple enough, but the translation does not always yield a really intelligible sense.

Most of the Egyptian amulets are destined either for the dead, whose life in the other world they are to influence, or for the gods, to whom they are as necessary as to mortals. In order to understand the benefit conferred on the deceased by his amulets, it is necessary to consider briefly the ideas of the Egyptians as to a future life.

The human personality was not regarded as single; it consists of four, or even more, elements, but the most important are three: the body, the soul, and a third, called by the Egyptians the *ka*—a word which has been translated in various ways: 'the double,' 'the living image,' 'the genius' of each man, which springs into existence at the same time as himself and grows with him. The *ka* is not always seen; nevertheless, it always accompanies a living man, and, when it is represented, it often assumes his exact appearance. It is what the Greeks would call his *εἶδωλον*. Very often also the *ka* is spoken of as present, though invisible, or there is a symbol in its stead.

The *ka* was believed to be an indispensable constituent of every being which had life; the gods and the kings were even supposed to have more than one—as many as fourteen. After having been indissolubly united during life, *ka* and body were separated at death; the body was mummified and placed in a coffin; the *ka* became independent, and continued to live in the other world. Since it could not restore life to the body, it was supposed to animate the statues which were in the tombs, and on which it rested. The *ka* was the living element of the human being; but its existence was conditional upon that of the body. If the body was destroyed either by violence or by

corruption, the *ka* also would perish, and the whole personality would disappear. This was the motive for mummification, and for the care which the Egyptians took to preserve the body, because thereby the continuance of the life of the *ka* in the other world was ensured. Occasionally the *ka* might visit the embalmed body and enjoy the gifts and offerings of all kinds which were brought to the tomb.

During life, the *ka*, though not seen, is inseparable from the body. It is even its most powerful preservative, its best talisman. It is supposed to be always behind the person. We very often see it represented as following the king in the form of a man of smaller size, having in his hand a cane, at the top of which is a head. The head is sometimes surmounted by the hieroglyphical signs meaning 'royal *ka*.' In many cases it has the symbolic form of a fan, which is made of feathers or assumes the shape of a leaf. The fan is often the substitute for the whole person, and is placed on a throne; but it is constantly seen as the protecting *ka*; e.g. in battle scenes, where a fan is certainly out of place, it is sculptured over the head of the fighting king. When the *ka* is absent, it is very rare for the formula to be omitted declaring that its protecting power surrounds the king.

Since the *ka* was to live for ever, it was desirable that its life should be as pleasant as possible, and that it should enjoy not only all the comforts and luxuries of its former existence, but additional ones. There was a certain, and comparatively easy, way of endowing the deceased with wealth and abundance. This was based on what is called imitative magic, the idea being that the representation of the image of an object causes it to come into existence. Everything has its *ka*, its double, which may exist in the other world like the *ka* of man. The mere fact of making a picture or a model of it, however small, is the means of calling it into existence in the other world—one might even say of creating it. The deceased does not like solitude; therefore wooden or porcelain figures will have to be put in his tomb, sometimes in great numbers, to constitute his society or his attendants. In the same way he will have to be provided with all kinds of objects of the ordinary life which the living *ka* will use—weapons, ornaments, musical instruments, tools for building, such as saws and knives, borers, the mason's square, and the level. These objects are generally called amulets; some of them, in the course of time, may have acquired a symbolical meaning, but the present writer believes that originally they were nothing but what the deceased was supposed to need in his new life.

One series is more directly connected with religious ideas; they are the insignia of Osiris, the king of the lower world, the judge before whom the deceased may have to appear. They consist of small models, in porcelain or hard stone, of the different diadems of the god, of his sceptres, and of his emblems of royal power. The motive for their being given to the deceased is that one of the numerous transformations he will have to undergo, one of the prospects he has before him, though it is not always necessary, is a complete assimilation to Osiris. 'I am Osiris, brother to Isis,' says the deceased. 'He who rescueth me, together with his mother, from all my adversaries, is my son Horus.' Since he will be a king, it is necessary that he should wear the crowns, and hold the sceptre and other emblems belonging to the sovereign of the lower world.

The life of the *ka* is not safe from all perils. It may be assailed by all kinds of genii or evil beings, endangering its existence, even threatening it with

¹ W. Golenischeff, *Die Metternichstele*, 1877.

destruction. In that respect the deceased is in the same condition as the gods themselves, especially Osiris, who every night is overcome and cut in pieces by his brother Set, and restored to life again by his son Horus. As preservatives, the *ka* uses magic formulæ or amulets, the most usual of which we shall now describe. The magic text referring to them is generally contained in the Book of the Dead.

The scarab is the image of the *Ateuchus sacer*, a kind of beetle very common in the region of the Mediterranean. The Egyptians supposed the scarabæus to be male, and to be born again from the egg which it had made alone. This we find expressed in the following way. Among the formulæ of praise to Ra, this god is called 'the beetle that folds its wings, that rests in the lower world, that is born of its own body'—or, as we should say, 'its own son.' The Greeks translated the Egyptian legend by *αὐτογενὲς ἐστὶ τὸ ἥδωρ*, as we know from Horapollo, and also by *ἐκ μόνου πατρὸς τὴν γένεσιν ἔχει ὁ κύνθαρος*. It is not surprising that this creature became the symbol of resurrection. There are scarabs of various sizes. Small ones are found by thousands in porcelain, steatite, and hard stones like cornelian or amethyst. They were deposited in the tombs with the mummies, but they were also worn by the living as ornaments that were considered to have a preservative virtue. Larger ones sometimes have figures engraved on their backs: the boat of the sun, Osiris with flail and crook, Harmakhis with a hawk's head. The large scarabs, which are sometimes as much as 5 ins. long, are chiefly the funereal or heart scarabs. When the deceased was mummified, the heart was taken out of the body to be embalmed separately, and afterwards either put in a so-called canopic vase—a jar with a cover in the shape of a jackal's head—or left on the legs and bandaged with them. The heart, as with other nations of antiquity, was supposed to be the seat of the moral side of the individual—one may even say of conscience, since it appears as the accuser. There are two words for 'heart': one meaning strictly the heart itself, and the other the heart with its envelopes, the cavity of the heart. It was necessary that the *ka* should have a heart; therefore there are no fewer than four chapters in the Book of the Dead relating to the heart; some of them even have two different versions. According to a papyrus, each of them is connected with a particular gem cut in the form of a heart and worn as an amulet: lapis-lazuli, green felspar (or opal), cornelian, and serpentine. We have amulets in the form of a heart; they are usually of cornelian. The magic words of these chapters are pronounced when the heart is supposed to be given, or rather restored, to the deceased; they prevent its being taken away after it has been put back in its place. One of these chapters is particularly important, since it refers to one of the most interesting scenes of the Book of the Dead—the judgment. The deceased appears before Osiris, who sits as judge. The heart is being weighed in a balance against the deceased himself, or, more frequently, against the emblem of the goddess of truth and justice. Then the deceased is supposed to appeal to his heart:

'Heart of my mother, heart of my birth, heart which I had on earth! do not rise as witness against me, do not be my adversary before the divine powers, let not there be a fall of the scale against me, in presence of him who keepeth the balance!' Further, the deceased invites his heart to 'come forth to the place of bliss towards which they go.'

This chapter, which is called 'The chapter of preventing the heart of the deceased from opposing him in the nether world,' is often engraved on a large scarab of green stone, put either outside or inside the chest, at the place of the heart. These

large heart-scarabs are found in all museums. The Egyptians liked to give them to their dead. It was a token for them that they were justified, that their heart spoke truth, that their limbs were pure, that all their body was free from evil. When they had this scarab, they might exclaim: 'I am pure, I am pure.'

The question which naturally arises here is, Why did the Egyptians give the heart the form of a large scarab? The answer is that the scarab is the emblem of resurrection. The Egyptians considered that life proceeded from the heart; that this organ was the centre of vital power. It was, in fact, the living being which animated the whole body. Therefore they gave the heart the appearance of a being having life and motion by itself, whereas a heart of stone would have represented something quite motionless, and absolutely deprived of any activity. Scarab and heart are two amulets relating to the resurrection and the restoration and re-constitution of the body. To the same category may be assigned the *dad* and the buckle.

The *dad* has been explained in various ways. It has been called the four pillars which support the four corners of the sky. They are seen one behind the other, so that their capitals seem to be on the top of each other. Maspero thinks that in its original form the *dad* was the trunk of a tree from which sprang four cross branches cut short near the bole. Certain vignettes in the Book of the Dead seem to make it quite certain that the *dad* is a conventional way of representing the human skeleton, the backbone to which the ribs are attached and which stands on two legs. Frequently a human head wearing feathers is placed on this skeleton, and arms are attached to it, holding the insignia of Osiris. The *dad* has become the emblem of Osiris, as the buckle is that of Isis. The two figures are often used together as ornaments on shrines or furniture, or in religious sculptures, to indicate that the objects on which they are seen are under the protection of Osiris and Isis. As an amulet, the *dad* has an influence on the restoration of the deceased, as we know from the text which refers to it.¹ 'Here is thy backbone, O still heart. Here is thy spine, O still heart; I put it at thy place . . .' And the rubric says that, if this amulet is put on the neck of the deceased, he will be perfect and appear at the festivals of the New Year among the followers of Osiris. The *dad* to which this formula refers is made of gold. There are a great number in porcelain, and many in cornelian.

The buckle is generally red in colour, of cornelian or of glass. It is the emblem of Isis, and its effect is chiefly protective, as we know from the text.²

'The blood of Isis, the virtue of Isis, the magic power of Isis, are protecting this the Great One; they prevent any wrong being done to him. This chapter is said on a buckle of cornelian, dipped into the juice of the *ankhamu* plant, inlaid into the substance of sycamore-wood, and put on the neck of the deceased. Whoever has this chapter read to him, the virtue of Isis protects him; Horus, the son of Isis, rejoices in seeing him, and no way is harmed to him.'

The *uza*, or sacred eye, is the human eye outlined with *kohl*. This amulet is, next to the scarab, the commonest of all. The eye has various meanings. It may be the right or the left one. Both eyes often occur at the top of the stelæ, as where they seem to represent the two periods of life, the ascending and the descending one. The two eyes of Ra are the sun and the moon. The 'filling of the eye' may be either the sun in the summer solstice, or the full moon. The eye of Horus gave birth to all useful substances—oil, wine, honey, sweet liquors, milk. It had an independent exist-

¹ Book of the Dead, ch. clv.

² *Ib.* ch. clvi.

ence. As an amulet the eye seems to have given to the living, as well as to the dead, health and soundness of sight. Maspero has shown that the figure of the eye, which is read *uza*, is an ideogram of the word *uza*, which means 'flourishing,' 'healthy.' Whoever wears this amulet will come out of all the dangers which might threaten his health, just as was the case with the eye of Ra. Chapter clxvii. of the Book of the Dead, which explains what is the virtue of the eye, mentions a wound having been inflicted on it by Ra. Another chapter speaks of the eye being in distress, or being obscured by a hairy net. It is probable that the eye is here a heavenly body, the moon, and that this is the mythical way of speaking of an eclipse. The eye is wounded by Ra; a shadow called the hairy net obscures her, but the shadow is removed, and, as she comes out quite sound and healthy, so will the wearer of the *uza* come out of all dangers. This seems to be the sense to be attributed to the text of ch. clxvii.: 'When Thoth had brought the eye, he appeased the eye; for, after Ra had wounded her, she was raging furiously; and then Thoth calmed her after she had gone away raging, "I am sound, she is sound, the deceased is sound." Thoth appeased or calmed the eye, because, as we read in another chapter, not only did he deliver the eye from the veil of darkness which oppressed her, but he carried her off, 'in life, health, and strength, without any damage.' This effect the amulet will produce. The eye was bound on the knuckles, neck, or heart of the mummy, or placed within the abdomen. It is found in gold, lapis-lazuli, felspar, wood, glazed ware, and other materials.

The little green column belongs also, like the eye, to what might be called *figurative amulets*, the names of which represent the benefits conferred upon the wearer. The word *uaz*, the name of the column, means 'to be green,' 'to grow,' 'to sprout.' The amulet was generally made of a green stone such as felspar, and was put on the neck of the deceased. The formulæ referring to it, which constitute two chapters of the Book of the Dead, are very obscure. The effect of this amulet seems to be similar to that of the eye. He to whom it has been given is safe, and preserved from any injury or wound.

The head-rest or pillow is an object made of wood or of stone, and very often found in the tombs. It is used at the present day by the Nubian women to prevent their hair from dragging in the dust. We sometimes see mummies the heads of which are supported by such pillows. Miniature head-rests in hematite or other stones occur as amulets. They have generally been considered as the means whereby the deceased is assured of a peaceful slumber. The present writer believes the purpose of this amulet to be quite different. Its virtue is much more powerful; it is a token for the deceased that he will not be dismembered, and that his body will be raised up again quite intact like that of Osiris. The head-rest is a substitute for the stone heads which were sometimes put in the tombs during the Old Empire. They are both protests against the original custom of taking the body to pieces, of dismembering it as Set had done to Osiris. The proof of this lies in the fact that the chapter referring to the pillow is nearly identical with another called 'Chapter whereby the head of a person is not severed from him in the Netherworld.' It runs thus:

'Awake! Thy sufferings are allayed, thou art awaked, when thy head is above the horizon; stand up, thou art triumphant by means of what has been done to thee. . . . Thou art Horus, the son of Hathor, the flame born of a flame, to whom his head has been restored after it had been cut off. Thy head will never be taken from thee henceforth, thy head will never be carried away.'

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Several amulets are ornaments, like the collar which the Book of the Dead says is to be made of gold and put on the neck of the deceased on the day of his burial. The words of ch. clviii. seem to be of a late date. We find the gift of a collar made not only to a deceased person, like King Seti I., but to the gods in general. When man or god has put it on, his nature changes; he becomes Tum, the great god of Heliopolis, and is addressed as such. Therefore we can hardly call the collar an amulet; like all the vestments and ornaments given to the gods, it has a magical sense and a magical effect. The collar is a ritualistic object, and has its place in the ceremonies of the worship of the gods and of the deceased.

The above are the most important and most common amulets. There are a great many more. Some of them are figures of a god or a goddess, like the vulture, or the frog—which seems to be an emblem of immortality. Others are figurative, like the cartouche, which stands for the name. The name is indissolubly linked with the personality; 'creator of one's name' means 'creator of one's person.' There are many, like the two fingers, whose meaning is unknown to us. It seems evident that, in Greek and Roman times, the number of amulets increased considerably, or rather that a magical sense was attributed to many objects of common use. Egyptian religion under the Roman Empire was known chiefly through its magic.

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ED. NAVILLE.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Greek).—The use of charms and amulets among the Greeks, as among all other peoples, is to be derived from the desire of influencing the course of nature or events, of creating or counteracting certain effects. This sort of influence is regarded at a later stage as supernatural; but, no doubt, a primitive people saw nothing supernatural in it. There are three categories of such influence, all of which may be found simultaneously in use: certain words, certain actions, and certain objects or their image, for to primitive belief an object and its image are identical. For us the third category only is important.

The reasons why certain objects are used as charms or amulets are various. There are a great many objects which are regarded as endowed by nature with special forces. (They are not, however, on that account to be considered as habitations of gods or souls [cf. Kropatscheck, *De amuletorum usu*, p. 18; Abt, 'Amulette,' in Schiele, *Religion*, i. 1908, 448].) The great number of ways in which it was possible to make use of certain charms proves that their powers were not confined to one kind of effect only. Apion, e.g., taught (Pliny, *HN* xxx. 18) that the herb *cynocephalia* was potent against every kind of magic spell (cf. *ib.* xxiv. 103, 'contra perniciem omnem'). Furthermore, we must lay stress upon the fact that the same means that are used to attract blessings are, at the same time, able to dispel ill luck. Where there is good luck, ill luck cannot enter; and health enters where illness has been driven out.

The common snapdragon (*δυσήρινον*) is a remedy against sorcery, if worn round the neck; it beautifies, if applied as an ointment, together with oil from the lily (Dioscorides, *De mat. med.* iv. 131 [130 Wellm.]). One remedy against sorcery is to drink a tea of peonies; on the other hand, this tea promotes the secretion of milk for nursing women (Pradel, 'Griech. Gebete,' *op. cit. infra*, iii. 367). The agate renders fields fertile ([Orpheus], *Lith.* 238 ff.), and athletes invincible (Plin. xxxvii. 142); and it possesses manifold other apotropaic and magic forces (*ib.* 139 ff.). Cf. also the promise of Priapus, in an inscription on a rock of Thera (*IG* xii. 3, 421c), to bring the inhabitants of the island unbounded wealth and to be their companion-in-arms.

Thus there is no fundamental difference between the apotropaic amulet and the charm with its power to attract the positive blessing (*φάρμακον*, cf. Abt, 'Apol. des Apulejus,' *op. cit. infra*, iv. 186 ff.; W. Havers, 'φωσικόν,' *Indogerm. Forsch.* xxv. [1909] 375 ff., cf. Weidlich, *Sympathie in der antiken Literatur*, p. 68). It is, however, conceivable that a certain differentiation soon took place, and that the amulet came to play a much more important part than the object used as a charm. For, in order to attain a positive effect, one makes use of a momentary magic device; but, if one desires to be safe at every moment against every kind of evil, one must make the magic remedy a constant one; and this explains the fact that the number of amulets far outweighs that of charms. As the amulet was mostly worn on a cord, the Greeks called it *περιλαμνα*, *περίπτον*, *περιδέρατον* (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 10). But this is not the only thing the ancients designate by the word 'amulet'; the term comprises everything that is used for protection against any kind of harm. In this sense the amulet is called *φυλακτήριον*, *ἀποτρόπαιον*, *ἀλεξιφάρμακον*, etc. Thus we find this word applied to everything we are accustomed to term 'apotropaic.' And, last of all, the same remedies that have a prophylactic use, e.g., to protect against an illness, are used to cure the disease when it has set in; and we often find that in such a case the remedy against the illness that has already developed is worn as an amulet in its more restricted sense, on a ribbon round the neck (Jahn, *SSGW*, 1855, pp. 40, 43; Heim, *op. cit. infra*, p. 506, cf. *ib.* no. 132 with 507, 133; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 42). We thus see that the vast domain of popular medicine bears the closest affinity to our subject, and therefore a minute classification of their different functions cannot be attempted here when discussing the several charms. The detailed analysis of each case, which would be necessary, has never yet been undertaken, and would not be possible within the scope of this article. A full treatise on popular medicine is contained in the article DISEASE AND MEDICINE.

In all probability there was originally hardly anything, animate or inanimate, to which men did not attribute some specific force. Kropatscheck (*op. cit.* 20) is right in saying that there is hardly anything existent that has not at some time been used as an amulet; cf. also a like remark by Otto Jahn about the animals endowed with powers of magic (*op. cit.* 100). Magic functions were probably often specialized by means of differentiation. In other cases a charm had a special function to begin with, based on the popular idea of sympathy and antipathy of most, perhaps even all, animate and inanimate things in the world (cf. Weidlich, *op. cit. passim*). Lemon and cucumber, fig and rue, are good friends; therefore the lemon thrives better if cucumber is planted in its vicinity (Pallad. iv. 10, 15), and the rue grows more abundantly under the shade of the fig-tree (*ib.* 9, 14). Cabbage and vine

do not agree, therefore one must eat cabbage to be safe from inebriety (Riess in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. 'Aberglaube,' pp. 58, 62 ff.). The scorpion fears the lizard; its bite is therefore cured with a remedy in which the lizard plays a part (Weidlich, *op. cit.* 21). The charms whose effect can be described by the words 'similia similibus' bear a close affinity to these (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 44, 1). The yellow bird Charadrios or Ikteros (Riess, *op. cit.* 69, 2; 73, 68; Weidlich, *op. cit.* 56) is a help against jaundice, but the bird itself perishes (a case of transferred illness). A specific against headache is an olive-leaf tied round the head and bearing the name of Athene, who sprang from the head of Zeus (*Geopon.* ix. 1, 5), or a herb grown on the head of a statue (Riess, *op. cit.* 59, 26); against colic, the hair from the belly of a hare (Marcell. Empir. xxix. 35); against disease of the eye, the eye of a fish (Ael. *Nat. An.* xxiv. 15); against toothache, the corresponding tooth of a dead horse (Plin. *HN* xxviii. 181). A positive influence is reached on the same principle: the tongue of a frog makes the woman suspected of adultery speak the truth (Plin. xxiii. 79); urine from a eunuch stops fertility (Plin. xxviii. 65); the sinews of a crane are a help against fatigue (Plin. xxx. 149). The mere name of an object is also sufficient to make it suitable for certain sympathetic purposes (Apul. *de Mag.* 34 f.; Abt, *op. cit.* 213 f.). Thus the plant called *lysimaquia* is used to calm a quarrelsome team of horses (Plin. xxv. 72); the *satyrium* excited sexual desire (Riess, *op. cit.* 65, 18); the amethyst was a remedy against drunkenness (Abt, *op. cit.* 214, 4). Occasionally also its magic use may have been the reason for giving the object its name.

A number of charms owed their efficacy to the place at which they were to be found. Thus it was related that the famous athlete Milon of Kroton had rendered himself invincible by means of stones, the size of a pea, which had all been found in the stomachs of cocks (Plin. xxxvii. 144); a stone found in the stomach of a hen helps soldiers to courage and victory (Weidlich, *op. cit.* 61); concerning stones from the stomachs of swallows, cf. Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 24 f. A grain found in the horns of snails makes teething easy (Plin. xxx. 136). A bone out of a horse's heart helps against toothache (Plin. xxviii. 181); a stone that 'grows' in the Nile, of a pea-like aspect (cf. above, the stone of Milon), is a charm against barking of dogs and frenzy. Perhaps the latter example is already influenced by the idea of the sacredness of the place, which is expressed when a plant growing on a boundary or a crossway is considered to possess magic power (Riess, *op. cit.* 47, 5. 24). A similar notion underlies the belief that a plant from the margin of a stream or river is a remedy against tertian fever (Plin. xxiv. 170); the power of flowing water which cleanses and washes away all evil (Abt, *op. cit.* 114, 7) allows the beneficent powers of the plants to develop undisturbed. In like manner, whatever has come into contact with lightning is endued with special powers. Wood struck by lightning helps against toothache (Plin. xxviii. 45); the stone *ceraunia* is sought after by magicians, because it is found only in places that have been struck by lightning (Plin. xxxvii. 135).

Anything connected with death or the dead has a special importance in magic (Riess, *op. cit.* 92, 13; Fahz, *op. cit. infra*, ii. 148 ff.; Abt, *op. cit.* 268, 5). Human bones and skulls (Abt, *op. cit.* 215) are used for various magic manipulations; with a torch from the funeral pyre of a dead man dogs are silenced (Ael. *Nat. An.* i. 38); a garment worn at a funeral is safe from moths (Plin. xxviii. 33); the words of an imprecation become especially potent when engraved on the fragment of a tombstone (Wünsch

in Bliss-Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, 1898-1900, pp. 173, 187). The influence of uncanny objects connected with a dead body was greatly enhanced when the death had been a violent one (Riess, *op. cit.* 92, 50). The underlying idea seems to be twofold: on the one hand, it was supposed that the remains of a *βαιοθάνατος* retain something of the full vital energies that were his up to the moment of his sudden death (Riess, *op. cit.* 92, 51); and again, that one who has died before his time, and still longs for life, lets his demonic powers pass with greater energy into this world. When the eye-tooth of an unburied corpse is prescribed as an amulet against toothache (Plin. xxviii. 45), the latter thought is uppermost; the unburied man, too, has no peace, but hankers after life in this world; and so do the *δαίμονες* (cf., for these notions, Norden, *Æneis*, vi. [1903] 10 ff.). Everything that has any connexion with the *βαιοθάνατος* has special powers—the rope of the hanged person, or a nail from the cross. Even the place where the man died is charged with a power that can be transferred; hence diseased pigs were fed with oats that had lain at such a place for a night (Plin. xxviii. 8); in a love-charm of the Parisian magic papyri (Fahz, *op. cit.* 167, l. 4), one is told to throw some of the dirt from such a place into the room of the beloved. When, according to the London magic papyrus (121, l. 657 f., Wessely), some relief from a stranded ship is required, we again meet with the notion that, where uncanny powers have been at work, special magic forces attach themselves to the objects concerned.

Many charms have an apotropaic character only. Foremost among these are the images of ghastly forms intended to paralyze the menacing evil charm; above all, the Gorgoneion (Gruppe, *Griech. Mythologie*, 1906, p. 902, 3; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 27, 5; Wolters, *Bonn. Jahrb. cxviii.* [1909] 262, 3), and its counterpart, the head of Phobos (Weizsäcker in Roscher, s.v. 'Phobos'; Wolters, *op. cit.* 269 ff.); cf. also the apotropaic face on the back of a leaden amulet (*Rev. des ét. gr. v.* [1892] 79). The curious (*άνομα*) and ridiculous (*γελοία*) preventives (Jahn, *op. cit.* 66 f.) of which Plutarch (*Qu. Conv.* p. 681 f.) and Pollux (vii. 108) speak belong to this group—caricatures and the like, with regard to which the present writer would suggest that the apotropaic character of the ridiculous may have originated at the very moment when the formidable phantom came to be considered a mere grimace (cf. also Perdrizet, 'L'Hippalektryon,' *Rev. des ét. anc.* vi. 7 ff.; Wace, 'Grotesques and the Evil Eye,' *British School Annual*, x. [1905] 103 ff.).

Another method of protecting oneself against incantation is to turn the tables against the enemy by bringing him into subjection. His evil intents are thus, in a way, forestalled. A species of grasshopper was said to be infested with the evil eye (Jahn, *op. cit.* 36, 30), and its image was erected on the Acropolis by Pisistratus (*ib.* 37, 31; cf. Weinreich, 'Ant. Heilungswunder,' *Religionsgesch. Vers. und Vorarb.* viii. i. 162 ff.). The hail, which was pernicious to the peasant's harvest, was a preventive of thunder if hailstones were put into the hatching-straw (Colum. viii. 5, 12; perhaps specifically Roman). The owl, on the one hand, was considered a bird of evil omen (Riess, *op. cit.* 70, 23; cf. Perdrizet, 'Le folklore de la chouette,' *Bull. de la société nat. des antiquaires de France*, 1903); but, on the other hand, it was a protective against hail (Pallad. i. 35, 1). The clearest example of this kind of protection by forestalling the enemy is that of the apotropaic eye. This does not oppose the evil eye with the power of the 'good eye' (Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. 'Fascinum,' p. 987), but it defeats it with its own weapons, and keeps off all kinds of evil powers (cf. also Wolters, *op. cit.*

269 f.). The idea that he who carries upon him parts of a dog is safeguarded against dogs must be interpreted differently (cf. Riess, *op. cit.* 73, 12); for it originates in the belief that whosoever has power over a part can conquer the whole. In both cases like is dispelled by like. But the like can also repair the misfortune that has occurred (Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol.* 669). The most famous example of this belief is the tale of Telephos (ὁ τρώας καὶ ἰδούρας). The bite of a shrew-mouse is healed by a shrew-mouse, and best healed by the same shrew-mouse (Plin. xxix. 89; Riess, *op. cit.* 80, 30). And the close connexion of this belief with that mentioned before is best illustrated by the fact that a live shrew-mouse in a clay casket was worn round the neck as an amulet against the bite of these animals (Riess, *op. cit.* 80, 32).

We mentioned above that words and actions, formulae and rites, came within the scope of magic charms, as well as objects. They do not in themselves belong to the matter here treated, but cannot be ignored in so far as they have become fixed objects, i.e. the actions are depicted, the words written down.

To these apotropaic figures belong the numerous scenes in which an eye is represented as surrounded by hostile animals and men (Bienkowski, 'Malocchio,' *Eranos Vindobonensis* [1893], 285 ff.; *Arch. Anz.* [1903] 20; *Oesterreich. Jahresh.* vi. [1903], Beiblatt, p. 23, fig. 3; Wolters, *op. cit.* 263, 1). The evil eye is to be robbed of its powers by the fixed representation of the attack against it. This is still more effective than the using of these animals as amulets, for by means of the image of the eye itself the evil eye is imprisoned and spellbound.

When on the marble block from Xanthus a phallus is threatened instead of the eye (Bienkowski, *op. cit.* 289), this is probably due to an inadvertent adherence to the former scheme. Occasionally the eye is pierced by a lance. This brings us to the picture of Herakles throttling the lion, found on an amulet against colics (Heim, *op. cit.* 481, 60). The same image is used for the protection of vegetables against weeds, *δσπρολέων* (*Geopon.* ii. 42, 2), where the sympathy of name also has some weight. A protective against gout shows the image of Perseus with the head of Medusa (Heim, *op. cit.* 480 f., 59). On Byzantine amulets, Solomon on horseback, piercing with a lance the female demon of disease, who lies on the ground, is a favourite theme (Schlumberger, *Rev. des ét. gr. v.* [1892] 73 ff.; Perdrizet, *ib.* xvi. [1903] 42 ff.). Cf. the encounter of Michael with *Βασκία* (the personification of witchcraft) in a new amulet-text (Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* [1904], 297 ff.); and the legend told, in Abyssinian magic-scrolls, of the saint Sūneyōs, who kills the witch Werzelyā from his horse, because she caused his child's death; see also, in the same scrolls, the scene depicted in closest analogy to the Solomon pictures (Worrell, *ZA* xxiii. [1909] 165, and pl. ii. 4). On the marble relief of Bedford, which formed the starting-point of Jahn's famous treatise on the superstition of the evil eye (*SSGW*, 1855, p. 28 ff.), a man sits above the eye with bare hind part, in an unmistakable attitude (Jahn, *op. cit.* iii. 1, p. 86 ff.). This is generally explained as a sign of disdain, and classed along with the baring or depicting of the genitalia in order to ward off a spell (Jahn, *op. cit.* 68 ff.; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 896, 1; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 27, 4; Abt, *op. cit.* 211, 14; Thera, iii. [1904] 186). The obscene female figures of Naukratis (*JHS* xxv. [1905] 128) belong to the same category (against J. E. Harrison's opinion, who explains the gesture of Baubo as a *προβασκάνιον* [*Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, 1903, p. 570, note 1]; cf. Diels, *Miscellanea Salinas*, 1907,

same effect may be obtained by encircling limbs with threads, whereby the inimical force is likewise bound fast. The human limbs chosen for this ceremony play quite a secondary part. In this sense we must interpret Aelian (*Nat. An.* iv. 48), according to whom a furious bull can be pacified only if a man whose right knee is bandaged with a fillet goes to meet it. The same idea of binding predominates in the ring (Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Amuletum,' p. 255, 97; Frazer, *GB*² i. 401 f.; Wünsch, 'Ant. Zauberg,' 42 f.; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 16 f., 26, 1), for it is a band of metal. Aristophanes (*Plut.* 883 f.) is already acquainted with rings as potent against evil, and mentions the name of a man Eudamos (cf. schol. *ad loc.*) who traded in such rings. Alexander of Tralles recommends an iron ring, engraved with magic formulae, as a charm against colics (Heim, *op. cit.* 480, 57); Schlumberger (*op. cit.* 85) reproduces a golden ring, engraved with a snake and 'Ephesia grammata,' Wünsch (*ARW* xii. [1909] 19) one in bronze; Teukros recommends rings, engraved with constellations, for apotropaic purposes (Westermann, *Paradoxogr.* [1839] 148, 3).

It is, of course, exceedingly difficult to determine in each case why the object in question has come into use as a charm or amulet. Often it is not for a single reason; a whole series of beliefs may attach to an object. A more detailed classification could be undertaken only on the basis of an exact and repeated analysis of the whole vast subject-matter. This work has still to be done, and requires careful studies in different forms of belief. The present writer must content himself with giving a summary of magic objects, in so far as they have not already been mentioned above.

[The Literature which is given in the following list is, as a rule, not mentioned elsewhere in the article.]

MINERALS AND THE LIKE: Moon-dew (*virus lunare*), perhaps only Roman (Dedo, *De antiquorum superstitione amatoria*, p. 3; Fahz, *op. cit.* 153); moon-shaped amulets (Jahn, *op. cit.* 42, 48); earth (Plin. xxix. 131; Marcell. Emp. xxiii. 20); Lemnian earth (*Ath. Mitt.* xxxi. [1906] 72 ff.), *γῆ λεμνία* (*Pap. Lond.* cxxi. 169); Eubasian earth, earth from carriage-tracks and foot-marks (Riess, *op. cit.* 46, 48 f.); water (Riess, 44, 3; *Pap. Paris*, 224 ff.; Wessely, *Neue gr. Zaub.* 1893, p. 15); rain-water (Riess, 43, 66); sea-water (Riess, 44, 27); hallowed water (Christian: Wünsch, *Seth. Verfl.* p. 76); fiery flame (Abt, *op. cit.* 239, 3); metals (*Rev. des ét. gr. ex.* [1907] 364 ff.; Tambornino, *op. cit.* 83 f.); gold (Siebourg, *Bonn. Jahrb.* ciii. 129 f., 139, in whose underlying mythical idea the present writer has no faith; Riess in Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* 'Amulet,' 1885, 60); silver (*Geopon.* xiii. 9, 2); bronze, pre-eminently used on grounds of ritual conservatism (Wünsch, *Defix. Tab. Att.* p. iii f.; Abt, *op. cit.* 159 f.); iron (Riess, 'Abergl.' 60, 40; Dedo, *op. cit.* 13 f.; Abt, *op. cit.* 161, 1; cf. also the sword which wards off ghosts (Pradel, *op. cit.* 382)); lead (cf. above, and Riess, *op. cit.* 61, 38); stones and jewels (Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Amuletum,' p. 262; Wessely, *l.c.*; Abt, *op. cit.* 189 f., 284 f.; Tambornino, *op. cit.* 83); gems, covered, especially at a later stage, with signs and pictures for magic purposes (Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Abraxas'; Riess in Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* 'Abraxas'; Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, 1900, iii. 381 f., 883; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 28, 2; Wünsch, *ARW* xii. [1909] 22); pre-historic stone-axes (Wünsch, 'Ant. Zauberg,' p. 40, *ARW* xii. [1909] 33; cf. a small axe made of thin bronze, from Crete, *ib. vii.* [1904] 265); magnet (Wünsch, 'Ant. Zauberg,' p. 40); coral (Jahn, *op. cit.* 43, 61; Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Amuletum,' p. 253; Riess, 'Aberglaube,' p. 50, 37); salt (Plin. xxxi. 101; Wessely, *Griech. Zauberpap.* 1888, Index, *s.v.* *ἀλς*; Hubert, *op. cit.* 1506, 16; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 889, 3; Pradel, *op. cit.* 363 f., 365).

PLANTS (Plin. xxv. 13; 'Carment de viribus herbarum,' ed. Haupt, *Vortlesungsverz. Berlin*, 1874-4; Riess, *op. cit.* 61 f.; Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Amuletum,' p. 263; Hubert, *op. cit.* 1506; Wessely, *Neue gr. Zauberpapiri*, 1893, p. 16; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 41 f.; Pradel, *op. cit.* 361 f.); Abt, *op. cit.* 145 f., 183 f., 182 f., 208 f.; Tambornino, *op. cit.* 85 f.; Eitrem, 'Hermes und d. Toten,' *Christiana Vidensk. selsk. Forh.* v. [1909], 24 ff.), especially from Thessaly (Hubert, *op. cit.* 1498, 8; Dedo, *op. cit.* 6); asparagus (Dioscor. *De mat. med.* ii. 161 [126 Wellm.]); cherry-stones (Marcell. Emp. viii. 27); honey (Deubner, *op. cit.* 40); incense (Abt, *op. cit.* 147, 205 f., 271 f.); juniper (Gruppe, *op. cit.* 889, 6); laurel (Abt, *op. cit.* 161 f.); linen (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 26; Abt, *op. cit.* 289 f.; cf. Merignan, *La Médecine dans l'église au sixième siècle*, 1887, p. 7, 3); mandragora (Randolph, *Proc. of Amer. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, xl. [1905] 485 f.; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 862, 8); peonies (Pradel, *op. cit.* 364 ff.); sea-onion (Gruppe, *op. cit.* 889, 7); wine (Deubner, *op. cit.* 45; Pradel, *op. cit.* 368); frankincense (Wessely, *l.c.*; Pradel, *op. cit.* 362 f., 872 f.; Tambornino, *op. cit.* 83), coal from the censer

(Pradel, *op. cit.* 365); perfumes (Wessely, *l.c.*); bread (Pradel, *op. cit.* 365 f.); catabas (Abt, 136 f.).

ANIMALS (Riess, 'Abergl.' 63 ff.; Wessely, *l.c.*; Tambornino, *op. cit.* 86, 88 f.; Eitrem, *op. cit.* 80 ff.); aps (*ARW* viii. [1906] 521); birds (*ARW* viii. [1905] 521; Abt, *op. cit.* 295, 1); boar (Abt, *op. cit.* 138); chameleon (Plin. xxviii. 112); cock (Deubner, *op. cit.* 47); cricket (Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, 1829, p. 973); dog (Roscher, *Kynanthropie*, 1896, pp. 27, 66; 45, 125; Deubner, *op. cit.* 40); fish (Abt, *op. cit.* 141 ff., 229); frog (Dilthey, *Arch. epigr. Mitt. aus Oesterreich*, ii. [1878] 55 f.; Dedo, *op. cit.* 6); hare (Abt, *op. cit.* 137); hyæna (Weidlich, *op. cit.* 24 f.); lion (Jahn, *op. cit.* 49 f.; Abt, 'Amulettes,' 451); lizard (Dilthey, *op. cit.* 53; Hubert, *op. cit.* 1506, 23; Abt, 'Apulejus' 183 ff., 275 f.); owl (Hubert, *op. cit.* 1506, 21); stag (Wolters, *Bonn. Jahrb.* cxviii. [1909] 282 f.); triton-shell (*Brit. School Annual*, viii. [1903] 308, *ib. ix.* [1904] 291, 6; *ARW* viii. [1906] 523); vultures (Halm, *op. cit.* 552, 1); wolf (Roscher, *op. cit.* 45, 126; 66, 161; Pradel, *op. cit.* 372).

PARTS OF ANIMALS (Riess, *l.c. passim*; Abt, 'Amulette,' 452 f.); ashes (Alex. of Tralles, l. 443, 445 [Puschm. 1886]; Kroll, *op. cit.* 24); blood (Plut. *Qu. Conv.* 700 f.); eyes (Fahz, *op. cit.* 154 f.); test (*Geopon.* xii. 14, 9); fleece (Riess, *l.c. passim*; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 823; Nilsson, *Griech. Feste*, 1906, p. 6; cf. art. FLEECE); heads (Jahn, *op. cit.* 58); hippomanes (Abt, *op. cit.* 186); liver (Marcell. Emp. xxii. 41); tooth (Fahz, *op. cit.* 142, 8); wool (Abt, 'Apulejus,' 144 f.).

PARTS AND EXCREMENTS OF HUMAN BEINGS (Riess, *op. cit.* 83 ff.; never in the magic papyri; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 27); head (Dilthey, *op. cit.* 63 f.; cf. Wilhelm, *Oest. Jahresh.* iv. [1901], Beibl. 18 f.; Deissmann, *Philol.* lxi. [1902] 266; Weinreich, 'Antike Heilungswunder,' *Religionsgesch. Vers. und Vorarb.* viii. 1 f.; esp. 17, 3; 48); foot (Weinreich, *op. cit.* 70 f.); in both cases the independent magic power of the members is a derived one—originally they were only the conductors of these powers (cf. the analogous remarks of Bienkowski, *op. cit.* 298); dirt from the sandal (*Pap. Lond.* cxxi. 492); blood and seed (Apollod. *Bibl.* ii. 152 W.); saliva (Abt, *op. cit.* 280 f.); marrow and liver (Horace, *Epod.* v. 37 f.); testis (Fahz, *op. cit.* 111, 3).

Hearth (Riess, *op. cit.* 49, 11); door (Plin. xxviii. 49); sieve (Riess, *op. cit.* 90, 87); purse-string (*Pap. Lond.* cxxi. 209); clay from the potter's wheel (*ib.* 936); bell (Cook, *JHS* xxii. [1902] 5 ff.; Pease, *Harvard Stud.* xv. [1904] 29 ff.; Abt, *op. cit.* 264, 2; Wolters, *Bonn. Jahrb.* cxviii. [1909] 282, 1; *IG* xiv. 2409, 5; Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Tintinnabulum' (not yet published); wheels (M. Bieber, *Das Dresdener Schauspielerrelief*, Bonn, 1907, p. 21, note); small magic-wheels (*κύβη*) in love-incantation (Hubert, *op. cit.* 151 f.; Abt, *op. cit.* 172 f., 178 f.); statuettes of women and children with special gestures (Jahn, *op. cit.* 47 f.); gladiators (Wolters, *Bonn. Jahrb.* cxviii. [1909] 268); images of Alexander the Great (Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Amuletum,' p. 268; Weinreich, *op. cit.* 76).

IMAGES OF GODS (Jahn, *op. cit.* 45 ff.; Wünsch, 'Ant. Zauberg,' 42 f.; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 28, 1; Abt, *op. cit.* 298; cf. Daremberg-Saglio, *l.c.* 256); Aion (Wünsch, *ARW* xii. [1909] 32); Aphrodite (Abt, *op. cit.* 195 f.); Apollo (Plut. *Sulla*, 29; Abt, *op. cit.* 299); the Ephesian Artemis in an adicula, surrounded by 'Ephesia grammata' (Daremberg-Saglio, *l.c.* 256); Eros in love-magic (Lucian, *Philopseudes*, 14; *Pap. Paris*, 1843); Hecate (Jahn, *op. cit.* 88; Abt, *op. cit.* 204, cf. 200 f.); Herakles, fashioned in touchstone, therefore doubly potent (Wünsch, 'Ant. Zauberg,' 40); Hermes (Dilthey, *op. cit.* 56; Abt, *op. cit.* 282 f., 300 f.), ithyphallic, the phallus ending in the head of a ram, in a Delian shop (*BCH* xxx. [1906] 591, fig. 87; cf. Jahn, *op. cit.* 79, 206; Wolters, *Bonn. Jahrb.* cxviii. [1909] 268); Selene (*Pap. Lond.* cxxi. 937).

SYMBOLS: geometrical figures (Hubert, *op. cit.* 1519; Prentice, *op. cit.* 138); Kerykeion (Dilthey, *op. cit.* 47); lightning (*ib.* 48). PARTS OF SACRIFICES (Fahz, *op. cit.* 142, 9).

The potency of a charm may be enhanced in two ways: by the addition of other ingredients, or by adherence to special prescriptions as to rites to be performed when using them. Kropatscheck (*op. cit.* 69 f.) has enumerated several cases in which plants, combined with other matter, are used. The effect of the phallus was enhanced by tying on bells (Jahn, *op. cit.* 79; Wolters, *Bonn. Jahrb.* cxviii. [1909] 267 f.). Against fever, a caterpillar, wrapped in a piece of linen, tied round thrice with a thrice-knotted thread, was used, with recitation of a special magic sentence (Plin. xxx. 101). Against a cough the name 'Ialdabara' was written on a blank sheet, in which was wrapped a stone that had been taken out of a new sponge (Pradel, *op. cit.* 380 f), and the whole was worn round the neck (Heim, *op. cit.* 587, 23). The so-called 'votive hands,' which were formerly regarded as an extreme example of the accumulation of magic ideas, should most probably be excepted here if we accept the interpretation of Blinkenberg (*Archæol. Stud.*, 1904, 66 ff.), which brings them into close connexion with the Phrygian cult of Sabazios; on the other hand, a remarkable golden amulet in the shape of a heart has been found in Crete (*ARW* vii. [1904] 265),

covered with different symbols: hand, snake, spider, scorpion, spiral, rosette (or shell) (*ib.* 273 f., viii. [1905] 523). A good example of the complication of rituals is given by Pliny (xxvi. 93). He records that a remedy is specially potent when applied by a naked (Jahn, *op. cit.* 93; Deubner, *op. cit.* 24; Abt, *op. cit.* 246, 1), sober (Abt, *op. cit.* 113 f.) virgin (Pradel, *op. cit.* 377) to a sober patient. The virgin thrice recites a magic formula, holding her hand in a prescribed position (Dilthey, *op. cit.* 62, 39 f.), and both expectorate (Abt, *op. cit.* 260 f.) thrice. The virgin is especially powerful on account of her purity, which quality, together with that of chastity, is indispensable to the efficacy of magic remedies (Abt, *op. cit.* iii. 115, 237, 241, 246, 258 f., 263, 330; cf. art. PURITY). Another remedy (Plin. xxiv. 172) is especially effective when rubbed in to the right (Abt, *op. cit.* 273 ff.; cf. Wünsch, *Defix. Tab. Att.* p. iv) by three men of three different nationalities.

A passage of Pliny (xxviii. 46) shows how the idea of a remedy becomes mingled with that of magic by transmission. Against fever a piece of nail or rope from a cross was worn round the neck as an amulet. When healed, the person hid this amulet in a place which the sun's rays could not reach. The notion was that the nail or rope had absorbed the disease; and yet these objects possessed healing power only in so far as they were connected with the dead, and therefore had apotropæic force. We also find cases in which the amulet changes its function. The scarab from Tusculum edited by Wünsch (*Bull. Com.*, 1899, p. 289 ff.) is inscribed with a Greek magic formula, containing the invocation of an unnamed demon, for the purpose of a nocturnal oracle—thus a positive, spell-binding invocation. Wünsch is right in remarking that the proprietor of Tusculum is not likely to have used the scarab for purposes of incantation. It is more probable that he wore it as an amulet, after it had come into his hands in some way, for that is the usual form in which scarabs were used in Rome (Wünsch, *op. cit.* 294).

The forms in which the powers of a charm were concentrated on the possessor were manifold. On a tablet from Knidos (Wünsch, *Defix. Tab. Att.* p. xii, no. 91, 14 f.; cf. *ib.* xxiii^b) the chief possibilities are combined: *φάρμακον ἢ ποτὶν ἢ κατάχριστον ἢ ἐπακτόν*, where the noun *φάρμακον* is limited consecutively by three verbal adjectives. The charm might be drunk (Fahz, *op. cit.* 132 ff.; Dedo, *op. cit.* 4; Pradel, *op. cit.* 372); even magic words written on some eatable substance, or dissolved in a potion, were eaten or drunk (Pradel, *op. cit.* 380 f.; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 19); even the act of licking sufficed—a practice to which the kissing of an amulet bears affinity (Kropatscheck, *l.c.*). Furthermore, the remedy might be applied as an ointment (Kehr, *Quest. Mag. Specimen*, 1884, p. 19; Dedo, *op. cit.* 3 f.; Abt, *op. cit.* 143) or in the form of a powder (Pradel, *op. cit.* 363, 369). And lastly, one could bring it into contact (*ἐπάγειν*, cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 318; *Phaen.* 343) in any other way with the person to be bewitched, if evil was purposed. The remedy could also be effective by being merely worn (Pradel, *op. cit.* 375). Here the favourite form was the real amulet (cf. above), which is also prescribed most frequently by Dioscorides when he gives sympathetic remedies (Weidlich, *op. cit.* 67). Kropatscheck has discussed the different forms in which the amulet was worn (*op. cit.* 33 ff.; cf. Jahn, *op. cit.* 41). It was wound round the head (which is important for the signification of the wreath), the neck, the right or left arm; or it was held in the hand (cf. Riess, *op. cit.* 52, 60; 65, 18). There is also a curious prescription to wear a golden or silver leaflet *στρωτικῶς*, which Kropatscheck interprets as a mode of wearing it like a

military neck-ring (perhaps more correctly 'like the phaleræ'). There are still other fashions: phylacteries are worn under the feet (Wünsch, 'Ant. Zauberg.' p. 39), under the tongue, or in the mouth (Theophrastus, *Char.* 16, 2; Fahz, *op. cit.* 138; Rohde, *Psyche*, i.², 1898, 237), or under the pillow (Riess, *op. cit.* 57, 23). Even the mere looking at a charm may be effective (Riess, *op. cit.* 59, 22; 69, 60; 74, 2; Weinreich, *op. cit.* 189 f.), and the knowledge of the god's name alone has the power of protecting against evil (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 19 f.). Without any loss of efficacy (Bienkowski, *op. cit.* 298), charms are often enclosed in linen, or leather (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 34 f.), or in metal caskets: from this custom, as from the wearing of amulets in general, the use of ordinary jewellery originated (Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Amuletum,' 254, 257; Riess, 'Amulett,' in Pauly-Wissowa, i. 1886; cf. Trendelenburg, *Blätter f. d. Mitglieder d. Wiss. Centralvereins*, no. 1, Berlin, 1909 [*Wochenschr. f. klass. Philol.*, 1909, p. 1025]). Not infrequently the proprietor may have had the intention of thus protecting his charm against contrary charms (Riess, *op. cit.* p. 1985; cf. Abt, *op. cit.* 282 f.), but the practical purpose must have been at least as frequently prevalent: the tongue of a fox or the heart of a lark cannot well be worn *in natura*, therefore we find for both the prescription to wear them in a bracelet (Plin. xxviii. 172, xxx. 63). If this is golden, as in the latter case, there is a conscious heightening of the magic powers. The same remedies are often found prescribed for eating, or for wearing (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 43), so that the mode of their use is not that which is significant. The variety of uses of one remedy recorded by Dioscorides has been quoted above (p. 434*).

The Greeks endeavoured to protect not only themselves and their children (Jahn, *op. cit.* 40, 42) but also their entire household from evil powers: their cattle (Riess, 'Aberglaube,' 45 f., 'Amulett,' 1988; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 37; Pradel, *op. cit.* 377), the horses (Riess, 'Amulett,' 1986, 1988; Weidlich, *op. cit.* 61 f.), the stables (Pradel, *op. cit.* 379; Prentice, *op. cit.* 138), the dove-cot, the hatching-places of the hens, the wine-casks, the grain, and the trees (Weidlich, *op. cit.* 73 f.), above all, the house itself and its entrance (Riess, 'Abergl.' 48, 3, 'Amulett,' 1988; Heim, *op. cit.* 509 f.; cf. Dedo, *op. cit.* 30, 1; Wünsch, *ARW* xii. [1909] 36), the workshops (Jahn, 66 f.; Prentice, *l.c.*), the implements of daily life (Jahn, *op. cit.* 159, 100; Riess, 'Amulett,' 1986 f.; Bienkowski, *op. cit.* 298), the clothes (Jahn, *op. cit.* 60), shield and weapons (Riess, 'Amulett,' 1986; Karo in Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Ocrea,' p. 147; *Journ. intern. d'arch. numism.* ix. [1906] 5 ff.), towns, walls (apotropæic eyes on the town wall of Limena (Thasos), *JHS* xxix. [1909] pl. xviii. e), gates and public buildings (Jahn, *op. cit.* 59; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 20) sanctuaries, altars, graves (Riess, 'Amulett,' 1988) and the dead themselves (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 16). There is a tendency tectonically to unite the amulet with the object thereby protected—implements, weapons, clothes, buildings, and the like (the amulet thus becomes an apotropaion in its more restricted meaning). Lastly, the magic practice itself is protected by phylacteria against harmful anti-magic (Hubert, *op. cit.* 1516; Wünsch, 'Ant. Zauberg.' 38 f.; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* ii ff.). Even animals were believed by the Greeks to make use of certain prophylactic means (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 37; Plin. xxiv. 174, whose testimony is, however, doubtful [cf. Riess, 'Abergl.' 57, 63]).

In many passages of magic literature the wonderful results attendant on the possession of certain charms are enumerated. Kropatscheck has made a selection of some (*op. cit.* 13 ff.; cf.

Hubert, *op. cit.* 1495; Abt, *op. cit.* 130), from which we obtain an impression of the good things the Greeks most desired to possess, and the evils they were most desirous to escape: love (*φιλία*, Abt, *op. cit.* 175 f.), renown, victory in battle or in contests or in lawsuits (*ib.* 130 f.; cf. Hellwig, *Globus*, xciv. [1909] 21 ff.), honour, riches, legacies, greatness, popularity, friendship [especially of influential people], life, and health (cf. a Byzantine bronze amulet with the inscription *ΥΓΙΑ ΣΥ ΔΟΡΙΤΕ* = *ὕγιαν σοι δωρεῖται* [Journ. intern. d'arch. num. x. 1907, 333 f.]), well-being, power, luck, success, peace, quietude, invulnerability, good looks, credit, memory, discernment, goodness, beauty, knowledge, many children, quick and easy birth, the gift of foreseeing the future, of exciting fear and admiration, of transforming oneself, of opening doors, of rending fetters and stones, of breaking magic spells, of becoming invisible or indiscoverable (the wish of runaway-slaves), of spell-binding the enemy, and of harming him, of getting and knowing everything one wished to have or know. The Greeks protected themselves against: the evil eye (Gruppe, *op. cit.* 878, 1; Daremberg-Saglio and Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. 'Fascinum'; S. Seligmann, *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes*, 1910, esp. i. 29), being bewitched by evil tongues (Abt, *op. cit.* 130), sufferings and illnesses of all sorts, such as fever, coughs, etc.; stress and danger by land and by water, storms and lightning, demons, ghosts and nightmares, somnambulism and frenzy (Tambornino, *op. cit.* 75 ff.), poisonous animals, especially snakes and scorpions, vermin of every kind (*Geopon.* xiii. 14, 9; Heim, *op. cit.* 478, 47; Riess, 'Aberglaube', 89, 50), enemies and enmity, accusers, robbers, wrathful kings, lords, chiefs, and ruling powers (Abt, *op. cit.* 129), thieves (cf. Western. *Parad.* 145, 1 f.: *βράγμα κλεπτελεγχον*), impious deeds, and spells.

How much of the matter here enumerated is genuinely Greek cannot now be ascertained. Jahn (*op. cit.* 110) had already drawn attention to the great difficulty of obtaining 'eine Einsicht in den Gang der historischen Entwicklung.' Dilthey (*op. cit.* 65) considered a large part of ancient superstition to be of alien origin, and this supposition has only been strengthened by the researches of recent years. Especially Egypt, the old home of magic, transplanted its beliefs into Greece from the earliest times. In the *Odyssey* (iv. 219 ff.) an Egyptian charm is mentioned, and the scarab was a well-known form of amulet in Hellas (Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. 'Amuletum,' p. 257). It is also impossible to make an exact division between Greek and Roman belief within the classical period, seeing that these countries stood in continual and close contact (Kroll, *op. cit.* 5), though no doubt the greater part of superstitious beliefs must have been imported into the matter-of-fact Roman mind. Riess ('Amulett,' p. 1989) assumes the possibility of a classification into periods and nations by exact statistical work. Whether this will ever be realized remains to be seen. It is more important to recognize the primitive forms of belief, and to marvel at the tenacity with which old heathen forms have found refuge under the mantle of Christianity. The following striking example may stand for many. An old heathen house-benediction (Kaibel, *Epigr.* 1138, cf. *Eph. arch.* 1909, 22) reads as follows: 'Here lives the all-powerful Herakles, the son of Zeus; may no evil enter!' and on an early Christian house in Syria (cf. Prentice, *op. cit.* 140) we find the inscription: 'Here lives our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son, the Word of God; may no evil enter!'

LITERATURE.—(1) For the ancient writers, see Hubert in Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. 'Magia,' p. 1501; cf. also *Hermes*, lii. [1886] 1-30; *Catalogus codd. astrolog.* lii. [1901] 41 ff.; *Oxyrh.*

Pap. iii. [1903] 75, no. 433 (Blase, *APF* iii. [1906] 279, 213). The most important magic papyri are enumerated by Wunsch on p. 19 of his book cited below.

(2) Modern literature: the best compilation in Hubert, *op. cit.* 1494 ff.; also Jahn, 'Über den Aberglauben des bösen Blicks' (*SSGW*, 1865, p. 23 ff.); Dieterich, 'Papyrus magica' (Fleckeisen's *Jahrb.*, Supplementband xvi. [1888] 747 ff.); Heim, 'Incantamenta magica' (*ib.* Supplementband xix. [1893] 465 ff.); Weidlich, *Die Sympathie in der antiken Litteratur* (1894) Kroll, *Antiker Aberglaube* (1897); Dedo, *De antiquorum superstitione amatoria* (1904); Fahz, 'De poetarum Romanorum doctrina magica,' *Religionsgesch. Vers. u. Vorarb.* (RVV) vi. 8 [1904]; Wunsch, 'Antikes Zaubergerätaus Pergamon' (*Archaeol. Jahrb.*, Ergänzungsheft, vi. [1905]); Pradel, 'Griech. u. südital. Gebete' (RVV lii. 8 [1907]); Kropatschek, *De amuletorum apud antiquos usu* (1907); Abt, 'Die Apologie des Apulejus' (RVV iv. 2 [1908]); Riess, 'Aberglaube' and 'Amulett' in Pauly-Wissowa, i. 30, 1984; and Daremberg-Saglio, i. 1, 1877, s.v. 'Amuletum,' with the bibliography at the end.

L. DEUBNER.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Hebrew).—1.

In the OT the references to charms and amulets are, from the nature of the canonical literature, of a more or less incidental character. Still, such as they are, they suffice to show that alongside of the official religion, so to say, of Jahweh, there survived the antique and ineradicable belief in the efficacy of amulets which is so prominent a characteristic of the Eastern peoples, and of none more than of those of the Semitic group. The first of such references is found in Gn 35, where the association of the ear-rings of Jacob's household with 'the strange [better 'the foreign'] gods which were in their hand'—for these see below on the results of the recent excavations—shows that the ear-rings were regarded as of the nature of charms or amulets. The possession of such articles, and the belief in their efficacy which it implied, the Hebrew historian rightly regarded as inconsistent with whole-hearted devotion to Jahweh. In early times, indeed, it may be said that every ornament was an amulet (cf. the Aram. *kēdāshā*, 'holy thing' for 'ear-ring'). The venerable custom of wearing jewellery, in short, is believed to be less the outcome of female vanity than the result of a desire to secure the various orifices of the body against the entrance of evil spirits (see W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.* 3, 1894, p. 453 and footnote).

Among the articles of female adornment in Is 31²²⁻²³ we find, in addition to the more easily identified jewels, such as the 'nose jewels' of v. 21—originally amulets to guard the nostrils—mention of articles which the etymology of the original (*lēhāshīm*) shows to have been charms pure and simple, hence RV rightly has 'amulets.' Their precise nature and form cannot be determined. According to Ibn Ezra (*Comm. on Isaiah, in loc.*), they were 'writings written upon gold or silver after the manner of a charm.' To judge from the context of the original term in Ec 10¹¹, the *lēhāshīm* may have been charms in the form of miniature serpents—a world-wide form of amulet (see last paragraph of this art. for illustrations). Another article in Isaiah's list is the *śāhārōn* (v. 18), literally 'little moon,' Vulg. *lunula*, RV 'crescent.' Golden crescents, which derived their potency as 'defensatives' from their association with the moon-god, were not only worn by the Midianite chiefs in the days of Gideon for protection in battle, but were hung, as amulets, about the necks of their camels (Jg 8²¹⁻²⁶). Numerous specimens of such crescent ornaments have been found in the recent excavations.

Again, in 'the stone of grace' (Pr 17⁸ AVm), or rather 'stone of favour,' we may recognize a stone worn as a charm to procure favour or good luck for the wearer. The universal belief in red coral as an amulet is perhaps sufficient justification for finding a reference thereto in La 4⁷ (RVm). For the view that the obscure word rendered 'pillows' in Ezk 13¹⁸⁻²⁰ should rather be rendered 'charms' or 'amulets,' see W. R. Smith, *JPh* xiii. 286.

Passing to the deuterocanonical writings, we find a striking instance of the use of amulets as protection against the risks of battle in the story of certain soldiers of Judas Maccabaeus, who lost their lives in an engagement, and were afterwards found to have worn under their garments 'consecrated tokens (*τεράματα*) of the idols of Jamnia, which the law forbids the Jews to have ought to do with; and it became clear to all that it was for this cause that they had fallen' (2 Mac 12⁴⁰ RV). These *τεράματα* were probably small images of the heathen deities. An earlier parallel to this practice is found in 2 S 5²¹, which tells of the Philistines bringing 'their images' (*ἑσάββηθ*em, read: 'their gods' [*ἑλὼνῆθ*em], according to the original text preserved in 1 Ch 14¹²) with them as charms to the field of battle. In Ben Sira's day (c. 180 B.C.) it was a common practice to wear amulets on the wrist, as appears from the figurative language of the original Heb. text of Sir 36³ (EV 33³): 'A sensible man understands the Word, and the Law is for him an amulet (*ἰδὲφθηθ*), a band upon the hand' (so Smend).

2. In addition to the direct witness of the passages cited in the foregoing section, another important line of indirect evidence for the popular belief in the efficacy of charms and amulets among the Hebrews is to be found in the legislation regarding the three great 'signs' of Judaism, the phylacteries (Ex 13^{9, 16}, Dt 6⁸ 11¹⁸), the *mēzūzā*, or doorpost symbol (Dt 6⁸ 11²⁰), and the fringes or tassels at the four corners of the upper garment (Nu 15^{37a}, Dt 22¹²). This is not the place to discuss the origin and nature of these 'signs' (see the relative artt. in *HDB*); it must here suffice to say that modern scholars, reasoning from the existence of similar practices among the neighbouring peoples of Egypt and Syria, and from the analogy of similar adaptations in other religions, including Christianity, are inclined to explain the place of the 'signs' among the sacred laws of the Hebrews as due to the desire of the Hebrew legislators to find a place within the national religion for certain immemorial and deeply-rooted religious customs of heathen origin and associations. To enable this to be done, the customs in question were infused with a new significance and a worthier motive consistent with the religion of Jahweh. Indeed, as regards the first of these signs, the word of the original (*ἰδὲφθηθ*), which our EVV render by 'frontlets', can mean only 'jewels', or, more probably, 'amulets' (see Sir 36³ cited above), worn upon the forehead ('between thine eyes') and the wrist ('upon thy hand'). Similarly the NT name for the sign in question, *φυλακτήρια*, i.e. 'amulets,' shows that the wearing of strips of leather or parchment inscribed with words of special potency as charms must have been an old and familiar custom.

The antiquity of the 'phylactery' is proved by the recent discovery of small tablets, which the Minæans were wont to wear, inscribed with the words 'Wadd^m Ab^m, i.e. 'Wadd (the national deity of the Minæans) is father'; see Nielsen, *Altarab. Mondreligion*, Strassburg, 1904, p. 192, with illustrations.

Further, the practice of inscribing doorposts and lintels with sacred names and texts in order to guard against the entrance of evil spirits is attested for many countries, and particularly for Egypt (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, ed. Birch, i. 361 f.; Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant*, 1896, p. 68 ff.). Later evidence of the special virtue popularly ascribed to both these 'signs' is afforded by the Targum on Ca 8³, which the paraphrastic translator interprets as signifying that the phylacteries and the *mēzūzā* have power to prevent evil spirits from doing any manner of harm.

With regard, finally, to the third of the signs in question, the tassels (Heb, *ššṭh*), the representations of Syrians and other Asiatics on the monuments of Egypt (see Wilkinson, *op. cit.* i., coloured plate ii. b), show that these ornaments were a feature of the dress of Israel's neighbours from an early period. Their position at the corners of the upper garment was doubtless due to superstitious ideas regarding corners, which have left their traces in other provisions of the Hebrew legislation; in short, the tassels were originally charms. That healing virtue was ascribed to them in NT times is seen from the incidents recorded in Mt 9², Mk 6⁴⁶. Here may be mentioned the bells upon the skirts of the high priest's robe of office (Ex 28^{32, 39²⁵}), now usually explained as 'a survival, like the gargoyles in our churches, of the primitive practice of the employment of charms to frighten away demons and evil spirits' (McNeile, *The Book of Exodus*, 1908, p. 185). The custom referred to in Zec 14²⁰ of hanging bells on the foreheads and necks of horses also belongs to the same circle of ideas. Numerous small bronze bells, such as are here mentioned, have been found at Gezer in strata known, on other grounds, to be post-exilic (*PEFSt*, 1904, p. 353, illust. plate iv. nos. 4, 5).

3. A flood of fresh light has been thrown upon the great popularity of amulets in Canaan at all periods, even in the pre-historic, by the excavations of the last twenty years. Every site excavated has yielded its quota to the list of amulets worn by the living and buried with the dead. One of the oldest yet discovered comes from Gezer, in the shape of the 'metacarpal bone of a kid,' perforated with two holes for suspension, which was found in the cremation cave of the Neolithic inhabitants (*PEFSt*, 1902, pp. 343, 348, illust. 350). In the following Canaanite period black slate was a favourite material for amulets. In shape these were 'either oval, rectangular, or sinker-shaped, generally flat, and always perforated for suspension' (*ib.* 343, with illust.). In this department of the ancient life of Canaan the predominance of Egyptian influence is very marked, especially, as we might expect, in Southern Palestine. Thus in addition to the countless scarabs in every variety of material, hundreds of amulets were found of an exclusively Egyptian type, such as the 'eye of Horus,' images of Osiris, and, in particular, of 'the bandy-legged Bes' (Erman, *Egypt. Religion*, Eng. tr., 1907, p. 75). The latter was regarded both as a talisman against serpents and other harmful creatures, and as a tutelary guardian of the home. While such purely Egyptian amulets as the figures of Ptah and the so-called 'dad' column, the symbol of Osiris (see *PEFSt*, 1903, p. 212, plate ii. 28), were probably imported, the greater number were doubtless of native manufacture. Thus a mould for the making of Bes amulets was found at Gezer (*ib.* p. 214). For illustrations of these figures of Bes, see Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, 1894, p. 40 (with a ring attached to the head); Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in S. Palestine*, 1902, plate lxxxiii. f.; Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek*, 1904-6, figs. 99, 124.

Under the head of amulets the present writer would include both the plaques of Ashtart (Astarte), the goddess of fecundity, and the small figures, in the round, of the same deity, which have been found in such numbers at all the sites. They appear to be too small to have been used as proper objects even of domestic worship. Such images, however, help us to understand the nature of the 'strange gods' favoured by Jacob's household (see above).

The excavations further show that from the earliest times, shells of all kinds were reputed to possess prophylactic virtue. Even at the present

day in Northern Arabia 'almost every woman, every child, every mare and she-camel wear shells round the neck, for these protect from the evil eye' (Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, 1908, iii. 314). This venerable and universal superstition no doubt had a place among the popular beliefs even in Bible times, as it certainly had in the later Talmudic period (Hamburger, ii., art. 'Böser Blick'). For every death due to natural causes, it was believed that there were ninety and nine caused by the evil eye. The desire to be safeguarded against its baneful influence explains the vast numbers of beads of various materials and colours found in the excavations. Blue was evidently a favourite colour then as now; in Palestine, at least, flat, circular beads, blue with white in the centre, are to-day the favourite amulet, especially for the protection of animals.

This recalls an artistic silver amulet, found at Gezer, in the shape of a pill-box, covered in part with a deep blue enamel with a white spot in the centre. It was filled with white earth—small bags with earth from some sacred spot, such as a well's tomb, is a favourite present-day amulet—and fitted with a loop for suspension (*PEFS*, 1903, p. 303 f. with illust.). With this pendant may be associated another of yellow glass, whose former use as a charm is placed beyond question by the Greek inscription which it bears in reversed letters: *εὐτυχὴς τῷ φορέοντι*, 'with good luck to the wearer' (*ib.* 1904, p. 354 with illust.—where see for other amulets, including a tiny fish [a symbol of fertility?] in ebony, plate iv. no. 13, said to be of Maccabean date).

Serpents have in all ages been reckoned as powerful charms—a fact which justifies our placing here the miniature bronze serpent found at Gezer (illust. *ib.* 1903, p. 222). It can scarcely be separated from similar bronze models of serpents found by Glaser in Southern Arabia, with a hole through the head for a cord by which they were hung about the wearer's neck (Nielsen, *op. cit.* p. 190, with illust.).

LITERATURE.—This has been given in the article.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Indian).—In no region of the world, except perhaps W. Africa, is the use of various protectives against malignant spirit influence more common than among the natives of India. These races are constantly beset by the fear of danger from spirits of various kinds and from the evil eye, and to these agencies they attribute most of the diseases and other misfortunes to which they are exposed. Their strong faith in the efficacy of ritualistic cultus leads them to adopt various magical and semi-magical devices which they believe capable not only of securing protection, but of being used offensively to destroy an enemy. An examination of the various forms of domestic ritual, those practised at marriage, conception, birth, puberty, initiation, and death, shows that they largely consist of a series of charms and other magical devices intended to protect bride and bridegroom, mother and child, youth and maiden, and the mourners for the dead (see Colebrooke, *Essays*, London, 1858, p. 76 ff.; Grierson, *Bihār Peasant Life*, Calcutta, 1885, p. 357 ff.; *BG* ix. pt. i. 31 ff., pt. ii. 227 ff.; Padfield, *The Hindu at Home*, Madras, 1896, p. 94 ff.; Dubois, *Hindu Manners and Customs*³, Oxford, 1906, p. 212 ff.).

The word 'charm' (Lat. *carmen*) primarily denotes 'the chanting or recitation of a verse supposed to possess magic power or occult influence' (*OED*, s.v.); in other words, what is commonly called a spell. In its secondary significance it includes material things credited with magical properties, worn on, or in close connexion with, the

person whom it is designed to protect; and in popular acceptance it is extended to various magical devices intended to effect the same object. Besides being protective, charms may be offensive, devised, as those used in the Tāntrik school, to injure or destroy an enemy. The 'amulet' belongs to a sub-class of the physical charm. It is usually defensive, and is worn about the person protected, in a case which is generally made of some metal. In order of date it is probably later than either the spell or the physical charm.

The word 'charm' has thus a very wide connotation, and it is difficult to arrange in orderly sequence the numerous devices of this kind used by the races of India. In general they are all based on the principles of Animism current among all classes of the population. The charms used in the official ritual of Brāhmanism do not, in principle, differ from those employed by the non-Aryan races or by foreign immigrants, like the Muhammadans or the Parsis. They are common to believers in all the existing religions—Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Judaism, and Zoroastrianism—and many have been retained by native Christian converts. In this article the tribal and religious variances will be defined so far as it is possible to do so; but distinctions of race and religion do not, in themselves, furnish a basis for classification.

1. The spell or spoken charm.—The general name for these spells is *mantra*—a term which in the Vedic age was applied to hymns and prayers addressed to the gods, though at a later time it came to acquire a magical meaning. But, as the Vedas are comparatively late in the development of Indian religions, this may not represent the actual course of evolution, which was probably in the reverse direction, that is to say, from spell to prayer (see R. R. Marett, *FL* xv. 132 ff.; Jevons, *Introd. to the Study of Comparative Religion*, London, 1908, p. 151 ff.). In the later use of the word the *mantra* is all-powerful. 'The universe is under the power of the gods; the gods are under the power of *mantrams*; the *mantrams* are under the power of the Brahmins; therefore the Brahmins are our gods' (Dubois, *op. cit.* 139). In a similar class are the *bija*, or 'seed,' the mystical letter or syllable which forms the essence of the *mantra*; and the *dhārāṇī*, which is the term applied to spells in Buddhist literature (Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, p. 146 f.). *Mantras* are of various kinds, the greatest being the *gāyatrī*, or invocation of the sun-god Sāvitrī (*Rigveda*, iii. lxii. 10)—the most universal of all Vedic prayers or invocations (Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*⁴, London, 1891, p. 19). The Tāntrik *mantras* originating in the corrupt Śākta cultus fall into a different class. *Mantras* accompany every Hindu religious rite, and form a necessary part of every domestic ceremony. They assume many varied forms, being sometimes an adjuration to the deity in whom the suppliant believes, or who is supposed to be competent to secure the desired result; sometimes the appeal is made to some hero or deified saint; or it is addressed to the spirit producing disease or other calamity whom the worshipper desires to scare or prevent from doing further mischief.¹

Similar spells are used by Muhammadans, of which the most potent is the *Bismillāh* (q.v.), which is used before meals, at the putting on of new clothes, at the commencement of books, and when any new business is undertaken. In an

¹ The *mantras* used in the domestic rites are given by Colebrooke, *op. cit.* 76 ff.; Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in S. India*, Madras, 1906, p. 259; L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Madras, 1909, i. 163 ff.; for the Tāntrik *mantras*, see Monier-Williams, *op. cit.* 197 ff.; for those used by the Himālayan Buddhists, Waddell, *op. cit.* 141 ff., 214, 217.

abbreviated form, omitting the attributes of mercy ascribed to the Creator, it is used at the slaughter of animals and at the opening of a battle, with the object of averting blood-guilt.

2. Substances out of which charms are prepared, and other substances and devices used for similar purposes.—The list of substances out of which charms are prepared is extensive, and here only a selection, for purpose of illustration, can be given.

(a) *Various natural substances.*—To this class belong the branches, leaves, fruits, flowers, etc., of various sacred trees and plants. Such are the fig, mango, *tulasi*, or sacred basil, the *bel* (*Egle marmelos*), the bamboo, and many others. Thus, special trees are selected to form the pavilion in which the marriage rite is performed; leaves and flowers are hung round the necks of the bride and bridegroom, or on the mother during the pregnancy rites, or are placed in the room in which the marriage is consummated, or in that in which the child is expected to be born. At the marriage of Rājputs and some other tribes a coco-nut is sent to the bride as a fertility charm. Various kinds of grain are used in the same way. Rice, wheat, or barley is scattered over bride and bridegroom, and used in many other family rites. A compound of various kinds of grain is specially efficacious: women in N. India, in order to avoid the attack of demons, put under their pillows seven kinds of grain; each of these, by a later development, is supposed to represent one of the seven sisters of the malignant Mother-goddess (*NINQ* iv. 160; and, for the belief in the efficiency of various kinds of grain, see *BG* ix. pt. i. 389 ff.; Campbell, *Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom*, Bombay, 1885, pp. 94, 456). Mustard seed is often used in this way. In N. India demons are believed to fly before the stench of salt and mustard burnt in a fire of the wood of the sacred *nim* tree (*Melia azadirachta*); the ghost of the dead clinging to the Nāyar mourners in Malabar is repelled by rubbing them with oil in which the seeds of sesamum have been mixed (*NINQ* iv. 197; *Bull. Madras Museum*, iii. 351).

(b) *Substances derived from animals.*—These are believed to confer upon the wearers the courage, agility, cleverness, etc., of the creatures from which they have been taken. Among these may be mentioned the claws, teeth, fat, milk, rudimentary clavicles, and skin of the tiger or leopard (Dubois, *op. cit.* 112, 183; *NINQ* v. 200; Campbell, *op. cit.* 280; Thurston, *op. cit.* 265). At the coronation of an ancient Hindū Rājā he was sprinkled with the water of holy rivers mixed with the essence of holy plants, and he stepped on a tiger skin (for details, see art. ABHIŠEKA). The five products (*pañchagavya*) of the sacred cow—milk, curds, butter, urine, dung—and the extract (*gaulochan*) prepared from her urine are used in charms and various rites (Dubois, *op. cit.* 43, 152 f.). The Nāmbūtiri Brāhman youth in Malabar wears a strip of the skin of the yak attached to his sacred thread (*Bull. Madras Museum*, iii. 41). The skin of the black buck (*Antelope cervicapra*), the sacred animal of the Aryans, forms the seat of the ascetic, and, when a man dying abroad is cremated in effigy, the leaf figure representing him is bound with a strip of the hide (Colebrooke, *op. cit.* 99). Hair from the tail of the elephant, the pearl (*kunjaremani*, *gajamuktā*) said to be found in its forehead, and another extracted from the brain or stomach, possess protective qualities and are used in charms (*Bull. Madras Museum*, iii. 221; *NINQ* iii. 53; Crooke, *PR* ii. 240; Waddell, *op. cit.* 208); bracelets of ivory are protectives for married women (Campbell, *Notes*, 20; *BG* ix. pt. i. 376). The horn of the rhinoceros detects poison and cures epilepsy (Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, 1896, ii. 325;

Fryer, *New Account of E. India and Persia*, London, 1698, p. 288). The hair of the bear and the gall-bladder, worn by children, ward off diseases (Thurston, *op. cit.* 265; *NINQ* v. 180). In the Panjab the horn said to be found in the head of the leader of a pack of jackals saves the wearer from being scolded, and in Madras realizes desires and secures jewellery from robbers (Blanford, *Mammalia of India*, London, 1891, p. 142; *PNQ* i. 89; Thurston, *op. cit.* 269 f.); its flesh cures asthma, and the head of a hyæna, buried in the stall, prevents cattle disease (Thurston, *op. cit.* 275 f.). The eye of the loris (*Loris gracilis*) is used in necromancy, and the small musk-rat, worn on the person, renders a man invulnerable to sword-cuts and musket-balls (*ib.* 270, 274). The custom of hanging the skulls of animals over the house-door and at the entrance of the village as a charm is common to many hill-tribes (Gurdon, *The Khasis*, London, 1907, p. 35; Thurston, *op. cit.* 271; Waddell, *op. cit.* 484 n.).

Some birds possess similar virtues. The flesh of the species *buceros*, if hung up in the house, is believed to bring prosperity, and the bones attached to the wrists of children repel evil spirits (Hislop, *Papers relating to the Aboriginal Tribes*, Nagpur, 1866, p. 6). Chicken bones are worn in the same way by the Was of Upper Burma (*Gazetteer*, i. pt. i. 505). The fat of the peacock, which moves gracefully, is, on the principles of mimetic magic, a cure for stiff joints; and smoking a feather in a pipe keeps off snakes (Thurston, *op. cit.* 275; *NINQ* i. 15). The habit of wearing feathers, common among the forest tribes, is probably due more to a desire for protection than for ornament (Lewin, *Wild Races of S.E. India*, London, 1870, pp. 284, 309; *Gazetteer Upper Burma*, i. pt. i. 461). The wearing of boar tusks in the head-dress, as among the Abors and Nāgas of Assam (Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872, plates xiii., xvi.), has been assumed by Ridgeway to be the origin of the Turkish crescent (*Man*, vii. 144, cf. *JAI* xxxviii. 241 ff.); but the moon seems to be sometimes used in charms, as when crescents of gold, with the points turned upwards, are worn as protectives by children in S. India, or when Mādhava Brāhmans in the Deccan make an image of the crescent moon on the marriage altar (Thurston, *op. cit.* 263 f.; *BG* xxii. 79; cf. Tylor, *JAI* xix. 54 f.; Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, London, 1895, p. 181 ff.).

Reptiles also are used in charms. Alligator flesh, particularly the testicles, is in repute as a restorative. A man in S. India who has been stung by a scorpion sits with an iron bar in his mouth, and applies chopped lizard flesh to the puncture; an equally effective remedy is the excrement of a lizard fed on scorpions (Thurston, *op. cit.* 274). In the Bahāwalpur State the sand-lion is known as *chor*, and is hung round the neck of a child suffering from a fever called by the same name; another insect hung round the child's neck cures convulsions (Malik Muhammad Din, *The Bahāwalpur State*, Lahore, 1903, pp. 12, 187).

(c) *Stones.*—Perforated stones are specially valued as protectives. An ancient perforated stone implement was found hung round the neck as a cure for goitre in the Central Provinces (E. M. Gordon, *Indian Folk Tales*, London, 1909, p. 75; cf. Crooke, *PR* ii. 19, 164; *JAI* xvii. 135 f.). This, combined with the idea of fertility, is the probable explanation of the use of the potter's wheel and the household grindstone at Hindu weddings as a charm (Campbell, *op. cit.* 164, 335). In the orthodox Brāhman ritual the bride treads upon a stone with her right foot, while the bridegroom says: 'Ascend this stone; distress my foe; be firm like this stone.' Similar rites are performed

at the present day among the higher castes in N. India, as well as among the forest tribes (Colebrooke, *op. cit.* 135; Dalton, *op. cit.* 194, 234, 252). In the same way old flint implements are valued. They are stored at Saiva shrines, where they represent the *lingam*, and in S. India at the temples of Vighneśvara the elephant-god, who averts evil; the Burmese use them for medicinal purposes, powdered celt being considered a cure for pain in the stomach and for inflamed eyes (Thurston, *op. cit.* 351; Crooke, *PR* ii. 12, 164; cf. W. Johnson, *Folk Memory*, Oxford, 1908, p. 121 ff.).

(d) *Precious stones*.—The same feeling attaches to many precious stones. They are most valued in special combinations. The collection of nine (*navagraha*)—ruby, pearl, coral, emerald, topaz, diamond, sapphire, amethyst, and cat's eye—and of five—gold, amethyst, diamond, emerald, pearl (*pañcharatna*)—are most efficacious. Jade, possibly under Chinese influence, is used as a charm, especially in the Burmo-Tibetan region; it diverts lightning and cures heart palpitation; when thrown into water it brings snow, mist, and rain; and, if poison be poured into a cup made of it, the cup cracks (Gray, *China*, London, 1878, ii. 356; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ed. W. Smith, 1854, iv. 196 n.; *NINQ* iv. 198). If a man bathes while wearing a turquoise, it is believed in N. India that the water which touches it protects him from boils and snakes; it is inserted as a charm in the forehead of images of Buddha, and, if large enough, it is engraved with a formula or the figure of a dragon (*NINQ* iii. 53; Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries*³, London, 1906, p. 349). Coral wards off the evil influence of the sun, and purifies mourners from the death tabu (Campbell, *op. cit.* 69; Colebrooke, *op. cit.* 101). Similar protective powers are attributed to other precious stones (Campbell, *op. cit.* 119 ff.; Crooke, *PR* ii. 17 ff.).

(e) *Beads*.—The protective value of beads depends partly upon the substances of which they are composed, partly on the fact that they are perforated, and thus exposed to the entry of spirits. Those worn by Saivas are made of the 'Rudra-eyed' (*rudrākṣa*), the berry of the plant *Elaeocarpus ganitrus*; those of the Vaiṣnavas of the wood of the sacred basil (*tulasī*), both bringing the wearer into communion with, and under the protection of, the deity. The shell of the cowrie (*Cypræa moneta*) is similarly hung on the necks of women, children, and cattle, and it is supposed to crack when the evil eye falls upon it (Campbell, *op. cit.* 126 ff.; Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 17). The blowing of the conch shell (*Turbinella rapa*) scares evil spirits from the temple-offerings, from the married pair, and from the corpse (Campbell, *op. cit.* 126). When the coils of the shell are turned to the right (*dakṣiṇāvarta*), it is specially valued (Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1891, ii. 223).

(f) *Metals*.—i. *Iron*.—The demons and evil spirits of India come down from the Age of Stone, and for this reason they dread the influence of metals. Iron is specially valued as a protective (cf. Johnson, *op. cit.* 169 ff.). When a child is still-born, the Burmese place iron beside the corpse, with the invocation: 'Never more return into thy mother's womb till this metal becomes as soft as down' (Shway Yoe, *op. cit.* i. 3). The Vadvāls of Thāna, in order to guard against the spirit which attacks the child on the sixth day after birth (an unconscious recognition of the danger from infantile lockjaw, caused by neglect of sanitary precautions), place an iron knife or scythe on the mother's cot, and an iron bickern at the door of the lying-in room—a custom which also prevails in the Panjāb (Campbell, *op. cit.* 387; Malik Muhammad Din, *op. cit.* 98). An iron bracelet is worn by all Hindu married women, those of high rank enclosing it in

gold (Rajendralala Mitra, *The Indo Aryans*, London, 1881, i. 233, 279; Risley, *op. cit.* i. 532, 533, ii. 41). In the form of the sword it has special power. When a birth occurs among the Kachins of Upper Burma, guns are fired, knives (*dhā*) and torches are brandished over the mother, and old rags and chillies are burnt to scare demons by the stench (*Gazetteer*, i. pt. i. 399). The Muhammadans of N. India wave a knife over a sufferer from cramp, with the invocation: 'I salute God! The knife is of steel! The arrow is sharp! May the cramp cease through the power of Muhammad, the brave one!' (*NINQ* v. 35). On the Irrawaddy river in Burma iron pyrites are valued as a charm against alligators (Yule, *Mission to Ava*, London, 1858, p. 198). A curious belief in the sanctity of iron appears among the Doms (*q.v.*), a criminal tribe of N. India. They inherit from the Stone Age the belief that it is unlawful to commit a burglary with an iron tool; any one disobeying this rule is expelled from the community, and it is believed that the eyes of the offender will start from his head (*NINQ* v. 63).

ii. *Copper*.—Copper is a sacred metal with Hindus, and many of the sacrificial utensils are made of it. In the Panjāb a couple of copper rings or ear-rings scare the spirit which brings sciatica (*PNQ* iv. 149). The *Lingāyats* of Dhārwar, with the same intention, place over the corpse twenty-one small pieces of copper, on which sacred formulæ have been engraved (*BG* xxii. 115; cf. European superstitions regarding the use of bronze [Johnson, *op. cit.* 120]).

iii. *Jewellery*.—The same beliefs extend to precious metals in the form of jewellery, the use of which was in India prophylactic before it came to be ornamental. This is shown by the fact that jewels are used to guard the orifices and other parts of the body most exposed to the entry of spirits—the ears, nose, temples, neck, hands, feet, waist, and the pindenda. Further, among the forest-tribes, ornaments take the shape of the leaves, flowers, fruits, or berries of the sacred trees which were originally used for the purpose of protection; and to these are added the bones, teeth, or horns of animals, the virtues of which are thus communicated to the wearer (Campbell, *op. cit.* 20 ff.). The ring, in particular, is supposed to possess special power. In the folk-tales we find that a charmed ring, placed on the ground in a clean square, and sprinkled with butter-milk, secures the attainment of any wish (Temple-Steel, *Wideawake Stories*, Bombay, 1884, p. 199). In Burma, Kachin women wear, as protectives, on the front of the hair a silver crescent held up behind by cowrie shells, and on the upper part of the ear a silver circle with a cock's feather (*Gazetteer*, i. pt. i. 395). A ring of the *kusa* or *darbha* grass (*Poa cynosuroides*) is worn on the fourth finger by Hindus during sacred rites, and is known as 'the purifier' (*pavitra*), that is to say, the protector from evil influences (Dubois, *op. cit.* 150 f.). That worn by the Nāmbūtiri Brāhmins of Malabar is usually of gold in the shape of the figure 8; it must be worn during certain rites, and those who do not possess a gold ring make one of the *darbha* grass for each solemnity (*Bull. Madras Museum*, iii. 41). All Hindus and many Muhammadans wear at marriage a crown of precious metals or tinsel as a protective.

iv. *Coins*.—Coins are used as protectives partly on account of the metal out of which they are made, and partly because Hindu coins are engraved with the figures and symbols of deities, Muhammadan with sacred texts. But it is only those of the older dynasties, not those of British mints, which are valued. In Nepāl, the local rupee, covered with Saiva emblems, is shown to a woman

when her delivery is protracted, and in N. India the coin of the Emperor Akbar, known as that of the 'four friends' (*chāryārī*), because it is engraved with the names of the four successors of the Prophet—Abū Bakr, Umar, Usman, and Ali—is used in the same way (Crooke, *PR* i. 116). The Deśast Brāhmanas of Dhārwar, when child-birth is delayed, dose the woman with water in which old gold coins have been placed (*BG* xxii. 74). In Malabar, Nambūtiri Brāhman boys wear amulets containing the *chakram* coin, of which 28 make one rupee, and Venetian sequins are also worn to bring good luck (*Bull. Madras Museum*, iii. 42, 41, 196). In Gujarāt, children of the Kāyasth caste are made to lick a little rice and milk from a rupee as a prosperity charm (*BG* ix. pt. i. 61). Coins of Queen Victoria were valued by Himālayan Buddhists, because the image was supposed to represent the mild goddess known as the Great Queen; but they refused to accept those of King Edward VII., which they believed to represent the head of the Lāma (Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries*², 354).

(g) *Salt*.—Salt, probably on account of its preservative qualities, is often used in charms. The Rautias of Bengal repel the evil eye by waving mustard seed and salt round the patient (Risley, *op. cit.* ii. 209). In Gujarāt it is deemed specially lucky to buy salt on New Year's Day; to be freed from the death throes a dying person makes a gift of salt to a Brāhman; on the great spirit day in October, Hindu women make marks with salt at the cross-roads (*BG* ix. pt. i. 349). Salt is part of one of the elaborate Toda charms (Rivers, *The Todas*, London, 1906, p. 263 f.).

(h) *Colours*.—Special colours are prescribed in many charms. Yellow, red, and black are obnoxious to evil spirits. The belief in the virtue of yellow is one of the reasons why both Hindus and Muhammadans smear the bride and bridegroom with turmeric. The same explanation probably accounts for the use of the substance known as 'milkmaids' sandalwood' (*gopichandana*) for marking the forehead. Vermilion is used to mark the forehead, and is also applied as a protective to new clothes. The virtues of black are illustrated by the almost universal custom of smearing the eyelids of women and children with lampblack, partly because spirits detest black, and partly as a disguise against the evil eye (Campbell, *op. cit.* 63 ff., 458).

(i) *Strings, threads, knots*.—These are used as charms to produce union, and also to bar the entry of hostile spirits. All castes knot the clothes of the bride and bridegroom as a marriage charm. In a marriage in S. India an important part of the rite is the tying of the 'lucky thread' (*maṅgala-sūtram*), a saffron-coloured thread or cord attached to a small gold ornament, fastened round the neck and hanging down in front, like a locket. It is worn, like the European wedding-ring, by all married women, who never part with it during life; it is cut at the death of the husband, and its absence is a sign of widowhood (Padfield, *op. cit.* 126 f., 239). Analogous to this is the rite of tying the *tālī*, which, as its name imports, was originally a leaf of the palmyra palm (Skr. *tāla*) (Dubois, *op. cit.* 224; Thurston, *op. cit.* 121 ff.). Among the Todas its place is taken by the 'bow and arrow touching' (*pursūtpimi*), represented by a blade of sacred grass and the twig of the shrub *Sophora glauca* (*Bull. Madras Museum*, ii. 159; Rivers, *The Todas*, 319 ff.). The tying of the marriage wristlet (*kaṅkaṇa*), which often consists of blades of *kuśa* grass, is common in most parts of the country (Dubois, *op. cit.* 222; *Bull. Madras Museum*, iii. 62; *BG* ix. pt. i. 45). Another form of this sacred thread is the Brāhmanical cord

(*yajñopavīta*), with which the high-caste youth is invested at the rite of initiation (*upanayana*) (Dubois, *op. cit.* 160 ff.; *BG* ix. pt. i. 36 ff.). It is fastened with the special 'Brahma knot' (*brahma-granthī*). In another form of the rite in S. India the thread is reinforced with a strip of the hide of the male deer; or a long strip of it is worn as a sash (Padfield, *op. cit.* 77). During the rite of initiation a saffron-coloured thread is tied to the wrist of the neophyte (Dubois, *op. cit.* 165).

Another charm of the same class is the *rākhi* (Skr. *rakshika*, root *raskh*, 'to guard'). It is tied by women or by Brāhmanas on the wrists of men at the Salono or Rakshābandhan feast held on the full moon of the month Śrāvana (July–August). It is closely connected with the Brāhmanical cord, a new cord being annually assumed on the same date at which the *rākhi* is tied (Padfield, *op. cit.* 78; Crooke, *PR* ii. 293). This is one of the symbols which mark brotherhood (see art. BROTHERHOOD [artificial], vol. ii. p. 862^b). A similar rite among Muhammadans is the 'year knot' (*sālgirah*), a string tied on the wrist of a child on its first birthday, which is replaced each succeeding anniversary (Herklots, *Qanoon-e-Islam*, Madras, 1863, p. 26; Blochmann, *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Calcutta, 1873, i. 267).

Similar uses of threads and knots as charms are numerous. Barren women, in the hope of obtaining offspring, tie knots of coloured thread on the marble tracery of the Saint's tomb at Fatehpur-Sikri (*q.v.*). The Burmese wear coloured string wristlets as a protection against cholera (Shway Yoe, *op. cit.* ii. 108). The Kāmi woman in E. Bengal, when she names her child, ties seven threads round its wrist, saying, 'Be fortunate, be brave, be healthy' (Lewin, *Wild Races of S.E. India*, London, 1870, p. 229). Among the Mrūs of the same region, every one attending a wedding has a thread tied round his wrist by the oldest woman of the bride's family; this must remain on the wrist until it decays and falls off (*ib.* 234). The Grand Lāma ties knots of silk round the necks of his votaries (Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, 321). If a Māla child in Madras grinds its teeth in sleep, a piece of broken pot is brought from a graveyard, fumigated with incense, and tied round the child's neck with a string rubbed with turmeric, or with a piece of gut (Thurston, *op. cit.* 265).

(j) *Fire and light*.—Lights scare evil spirits. Among the Kachins of Upper Burma torches are waved over a woman after her delivery (*Gazetteer*, i. pt. i. 399). The Nāyars of Malabar place lights, over which rice is sprinkled, in the room in which the marriage is consummated (*Bull. Madras Museum*, iii. 234; cf. Dubois, *op. cit.* 227). Among the Savaras of Bengal the bridesmaids warm the tips of their fingers at a lamp, and rub the cheeks of the bridegroom (Risley, *op. cit.* ii. 243). The Muhammadan Khojas of Gujarāt place a four-wicked lamp near a young child, while the friends scatter rice (*BG* ix. pt. ii. 45). In Bombay the lamp is extinguished on the tenth day, and again filled with butter and sugar, as a mimetic charm to induce the light to come again and bring another baby (*PNQ* iv. 5). The folk-tales often refer to jewel-lamps guarding young children (Somadeva, *Kathāsaritsāgara* [tr. Tawney, Calcutta, 1880], i. 189, 246, 305). The Srīgand Brāhmanas of Gujarāt at marriage wear conical hats made of leaves of the sacred tree *Butea frondosa*, and on the hat is placed a lighted lamp (*BG* ix. pt. i. 19; and cf. *ib.* 272).

Fire is commonly used for the same purpose. The fires lit at the Holi spring-festival are intended as a purgation of evil spirits, or as a mimetic charm to produce sunshine. Touching fire is one of the methods by which mourners are freed from the ghost which clings to them. When an Arer woman

of Kānara has an illegitimate child, the priest lights a lamp, plucks a hair from the woman's head, throws it into the fire, and announces that mother and child are free from tabu (*BG* xv. pt. i. 215). The rite of fire-walking practised in many parts of the country appears to be intended as a means of purging evil spirits; and the fire lighted by all castes in the delivery-room seems to have the same object. Such use of fire is naturally common among the Zoroastrian fire-worshippers (Shea-Troyer, *The Dabistān*, Paris, 1843, i. 317).

(k) *Shouting, gun-firing, etc.*—Noise is a charm against evil spirits. When epidemic disease appears in Burma, 'the whole population break out into yells, and make as much noise as they can, with the view of scaring away the evil spirit who has brought the disease' (Shway Yoe, *op. cit.* i. 282). Bell-ringing, drum-beating, and other forms of music have the same effect (Campbell, *op. cit.* 45 f., 108 ff., 407).

(l) *Incense and foul smells.*—The burning of incense and the production of foul smells act in the same way. In the Hīmalayas a mixture of incense and butter is burnt to scare demons (Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, 432 n.). In N. India, bran, chillies, salt, mustard, and sometimes the eyelashes of the patient, are waved seven times over a sick child; when these things are burned, if a foul smell is produced, as is necessarily the case, the infant is believed to be freed from the effects of the evil eye (*PNQ* i. 51).

(m) *Blood.*—Blood is used as a prophylactic against evil spirits, and marks the blood-covenant. At a Kachin marriage in Burma the blood of fowls is scattered on the bride and her attendants, and along the path by which she comes to the house of her husband (*Gazetteer*, i. pt. i. 407). At animal sacrifices in Gujarāt, the blood is sprinkled on the image of the goddess, and on the floor and door-posts of the temple (cf. the Passover rite, *HDB* iii. 689); if the offering be made for the good of the community, it is rubbed on the gates of the town and on those of the chief's palace or hall, and on the foreheads of the bystanders; the exorcists and barren women drink cups of the blood, and the person making the offering takes to his house a portion, in which he mixes grain of various kinds, and this is scattered in the rooms of the house and laid in a corner of his field; even Brāhmans keep cloths steeped in the blood of the victim, as a charm against natural and spirit-sent diseases (*BG* ix. pt. i. 407).

(n) *Abuse and indecency.*—The custom of using foul abuse and indecency at various religious and domestic rites seems to be practised with the same object. The abuse of the bridegroom and his party by the friends of the bride, commonly explained as a survival of marriage by capture, is probably based on the desire to protect the married pair from evil spirits. In some cases, as a propitiatory charm, people submit to gross abuse, as when, on the feast day of Gaṇeśa, men who have to go out and risk the danger of seeing the moon fling stones at the house of a neighbour, in the hope that he may abuse them and thus remove the evil (Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, London, 1878, p. 610; Crooke, *PR* i. 16 f.; cf. Frazer, *Pausanias*, 1900, ii. 492; Farnell, *CQS* iii. 104, 172). Mock fights, which are often a mimetic representation of the victory of the powers of good over those of evil, are probably intended to secure the same object (Crooke, *PR* ii. 321; cf. Farnell, *op. cit.* v. 194; Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, London, 1902, p. 290 ff.).

3. Charms written, engraved, or inserted in the flesh.—Charms of this kind fall into several classes.

(a) *The yantra*, 'that which holds, restrains, fastens,' is a combination of mystical symbols and

diagrams, drawn on copper or other metallic plates, and supposed to possess occult powers. One worn by a Nāmhātiri Brāhman of Malabar had a pattern engraved on a silver plate, and the wearer alleged that its use relieved him from a feeling of heat in the cool season—a symptom which he attributed to the influence of an evil spirit (*Bull. Madras Museum*, iii. 41, 305 ff.). Another *yantra* represented, on a sheet of metal, the enemy that the wearer wished to destroy; and it contained a threat that bodily injury or death would overtake him; to effect the same object, nails are thrust into the body of a live frog or lizard, which is enclosed in the shell of a coco-nut—the death of the animal and of the enemy being supposed to occur simultaneously (*ib.* iii. 51). For other examples of similar *yantras*, see L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, i. 307, 317. Witchcraft by means of such images is common (Herklots, *op. cit.* 215 ff.; Crooke, *PR* ii. 278 ff.).

(b) *Cabalistic squares.*—Such squares, in which the total of the figures in each column amounts to 15 or some other mystic number, are very commonly used. For examples, see Shway Yoe, *op. cit.* i. 15, ii. 127 f.; *BG* ix. pt. ii. 147; Herklots, *op. cit.* 246 ff.; Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, 457, 467.

(c) *The triangle and the pentacle.*—Mystic marks of this kind are used in N. India in the ornamentation of domestic vessels, which they are supposed to protect (*PNQ* ii. 29; Crooke, *PR* ii. 39). The pentacle is also used as a charm against scorpion-stings and fever (*PNQ* iii. 205; *NINQ* ii. 10). In Bombay the pentacle, when enclosed in a series of circles and curves, prevents a child from crying (Campbell, *op. cit.* 391). Muhammadans believe that by it Solomon was able to work magic. The trigrams used by Hīmalayan Buddhists fall into the same class (Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, 395).

(d) *Representations of the eye.*—These are drawn on ships and boats as a sort of mimetic charm to enable them to see their way at night and avoid shoals and rocks. They are largely used by the Burmese and Siamese (Shway Yoe, *op. cit.* i. 81; Bowring, *Siam*, London, 1857, i. 393; cf. Frazer, *Pausanias*, ii. 17 f.).

(e) *The swastika.*—The symbol of the *swastika* (Skr. *svasti*, 'welfare,' 'health') is known in Europe under the name of fylfot, cross cramponée, etc., and it is the *gammadion* of Byzantine ecclesiastical ornament. For its origin and significance, see art. CROSS; T. Wilson, *The Swastika*, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1896; G. d'Alviella, *The Migration of Symbols*, London, 1894, p. 32 ff. It appears on the early Iron Age pottery of S. India. At the present day it is drawn on textile fabrics, on religious and domestic utensils, on representations of the footprints of Buddha and other Divine and saintly personages, and on the opening pages of account-books, etc., where it is believed to be a charm against all evil influences. In the normal form the arms bend to the right; in Buddhism they are 'always bent in the respectful attitude, that is, towards the left' (Waddell, *op. cit.* 389; Wilson, *op. cit.* 767).

(f) *The labyrinth.*—The labyrinth (Skr. *chakravayūha*) is used as a mimetic charm in cases of protracted labour, a figure of it being drawn and shown to the woman (*PNQ* ii. 114).

(g) *The charmed circle.*—The charmed circle, when made with substances like milk or ashes, which possess mystic powers, protects the person enclosed within it from malevolent spirit agencies. Thus it protects cattle from disease, and in the folk-tales we frequently find that a circle made of ashes is used to protect persons from demons (*PNQ* ii. 148; Crooke, *PR* ii. 41 f.; Somadeva, *Kathasaritsāgara*, tr. Tawney, i. 337). The *maṇḍala*,

or magic circle of Buddhism, is of the same type (Waddell, *op. cit.* 397 f.).

(h) *Handmarks*.—The mark of the hand made upon a house or any article in one of the lucky colours (see above, 2 (h)) is a protective charm (*NINQ* v. 115; cf. Elworthy, *op. cit.* 233 ff.). The handmark of a *sati* on her way to death is regarded as specially fortunate, and is preserved to this day on the gates of forts in Rājputāna.

(i) *Tatu*.—Ornamentation of the skin in the form of the tatu is probably based on various principles, one being its use as a prophylactic (*JAI* xvii. 318 ff., xxx. supp. 116, xxxi. 29; Crawley, *op. cit.* 135). In Burma, where the practice is most common, it appears in the form of various cabalistic and protective marks, as, for instance, in love charms, and to alleviate the pain of flogging (Shway Yoe, *op. cit.* i. 48 f., 50 f.). In Bengal it is a cure for goitre, and in Madras for muscular pains and other disorders (Risley, *op. cit.* i. 292; *Bull. Madras Museum*, ii. 116).

(j) *Charms embedded in the flesh*.—The custom of inserting in the flesh various substances as charms is wide-spread in Burma, and it was used by the Japanese to protect themselves against the armies of the Great Kaan (Marco Polo, ed. Yule, London, 1871, ii. 205, 207 f.; Shway Yoe, *op. cit.* i. 51; Yule, *Mission to Ava*, 208 n.; *Gazetteer Upper Burma*, ii. pt. i. 79). It is occasionally used by Rāmōshī (*q.v.*) thieves in W. India; and natives believe that the famous Madras mutineer, Muhammad Yūsuf Khān, had a magic ball inserted in his thigh, and that he could not be executed until it was extracted (*BG* xviii. pt. iii. 36 n.; Wilson, *Hist. of the Madras Army*, Madras, 1882-89, i. 386).

4. *Charms connected with sacred persons, places, etc.*—Some charms are connected with deities, holy men, and holy places. Hindus often wear round their necks little metallic locketts containing an image of the goddess Devī, or of some other divinity. In the same class fall the amonite (*śālagrāma*) used in the worship of Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa, which is regarded as holy, either on account of its whorls, or because of the interstices which Viṣṇu, in the form of a worm, is said to have made on its surface; and the *lingam*, or phallic symbol, of Śiva. Both are valued as protective charms, and small images of the *lingam* are worn for this purpose by the Lingāyats (*q.v.*) order. In the same way the imprints of the footsteps of Buddha and Viṣṇu (*viṣṇupada*) are depicted on buildings and on various articles. In another class is the 'foot-nectar' (*charaṇmṛta*), or water in which the feet of holy men have been washed. This is often drunk or used as a charm, as is the water in which a sword has been plunged in the Sikh form of initiation (cf. Crawley, *op. cit.* 100 f.). The water from holy rivers, like the Ganges or Nerbada, is given to the dying, and is valued as a remedy. In the same way, Muhammadans use water from the sacred well Zamzam at Mecca. It is used to break the Lenten fast, applied to the eyes to brighten the vision, given to the dying, when Satan stands by holding a bowl of water—the price of the departing soul (Hughes, *DI*, p. 701). Secretions of holy persons are used in the same way, such as pills made from the excrement of the Grand Lāma (Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, 397 n.; for similar holy pills, cf. the same author's *Buddhism of Tibet*, 323, 448); and the spittle of the Meriah victim of the Kandhs (*q.v.*) (Risley, *op. cit.* i. 405; Macpherson, *Memorials of Service*, London, 1865, p. 118), and of holy men in Gujarāt and Madras (*BG* ix. pt. ii. 127 n.; Dubois, *op. cit.* 132; Thurston, *op. cit.* 305). When cattle in Bahāwalpur are attacked with farcy and other diseases, earth from the tomb of the saint 'Alī

Ashāb is thrown over them (Malik Muhammad Din, *op. cit.* 159). Clay from holy places, like that from the Karbala or Mashhadu'l-Husain—the great place of Shī'ah pilgrimage in Al-'Iraq—is given to the dying Khoja in W. India, to protect him from the arch-fiend (*BG* ix. pt. ii. 46). Dust from the footsteps of a cow was used to drive evil spirits from the infant god Kṛṣṇa; and, when a Hindu pilgrim bathes at a sacred place, he rubs the holy earth on his body, saying, 'Earth, free me from my sins, that, my sins being destroyed by thee, I may reach heaven' (Campbell, *op. cit.* 79). When a Mhār in the Deccan is possessed by an evil spirit, the officiant takes a little dust from his feet, and rubs it between the eyebrows of the possessed person, and the spirit leaves him; the Chitpāwan Brāhman boy at initiation has his hands rubbed with sand, and, when a girl arrives at puberty, she is rubbed with seven kinds of earth and then bathed; the Chambhārs of Poona put sand under the mother's pillow after childbirth; the seven kinds of sacred earth used in such rites are taken from a king's palace gate, from a hill, from under the foot of an elephant, from a place where four roads meet, from a cowshed, and from under the tree *Andropogon muricatum* (*BG* xviii. pt. i. 119, 141, 327). Pilgrims carry away with them from a sacred site in Assam scrapings of the rocks and soil, which they treasure as protectives, and place beside the corpse, in the belief that they protect the soul from transmigration into one of the lower animals (Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, 309). Pilgrims to Tibet bring back with them dust of a rock near the temple of medicine at Lhāsa, which is swallowed as a charm (Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, 376).

One of the chief sacred substances used in making charms is ashes. It is probable that these were originally the ashes of the sacrifice (*vibhūti*, 'great power'), which are still used by Śaiva ascetics to rub on the body and form their sectarian marks (Padfield, *op. cit.* 89). In the Himālaya one of the most potent charms against evil spirits is that known as the 'ashes formula' (*vibhūti mantra*), after the recitation of which some ashes are smeared on the forehead of the patient three times, and then rubbed off, so as to disperse the dangerous influence; and a patient of the Śaiva sect in S. India is rubbed with sacred ashes while a charm is recited (*NINQ* iii. 74 f.; Padfield, *op. cit.* 50). A bath of ashes is one of the modes of purification used by the Lingāyats (*q.v.*) (Dubois, *op. cit.* 181). The Mikirs of Assam use ashes as a cure to relieve blindness (Stack, *The Mikirs*, 51). The Todas, in order to avert the influence of demons, make a mark with ashes above the nose of the patient (Rivers, *op. cit.* 269). In Bombay, rubbing the head with ashes cures headache; a person excommunicated is relieved of the tabu by swallowing ashes administered by his spiritual guide; ashes from the censor of Māruti, the monkey-god, or some other guardian deity, scare spirits (*BG* xxii. 51, xxiii. 114). Ashes produced after the fusing of iron, copper, or silver, are regarded as the elixir of life (Campbell, *op. cit.* 21). Old women, both Hindu and Muhammadan, sprinkle ashes, with the recital of a formula, over the bridegroom when he retires with his bride, believing that this makes him subservient to her (*NINQ* v. 215). The ashes of the sacred fires, like that lighted at the Holi festival, and those maintained by various Musalmān saints and at Hindu temples, have high repute as prophylactics. In the folk-tales, the person exposed to witchcraft or spirit influence finds shelter within a magic circle of ashes (Somadeva, *op. cit.* i. 337).

5. *Places where charms are most frequently used*.—(a) *Cross-roads*.—It is a common habit to perform charms at the place where four roads meet.

In the orthodox Brāhmanical death-rites, lamps are placed at cross-roads (Colebrooke, *op. cit.* 102). At the marriage rite among the Bharvāds in Gujārāt, a eunuch flings balls of wheat-flour towards the four quarters of the heavens, as a charm to scare evil spirits; and in the same province, at the Holi festival, the fire is lighted at a *quadrivium* (*BG* ix. pt. i. 280, 357). In Bombay, seven pebbles, picked up from a place where three roads meet, are used as a charm against the evil eye (Campbell, *op. cit.* 208). Some of the Gujārāt tribes, apparently with the intention of dispersing the evil or passing it on to some traveller, sweep their houses on the first day of the month Kārttik (November), and lay the refuse in a pot at the cross roads (*ib.* 329). On the same principle, a common form of small-pox transference is to lay the scabs or scales from the body of the patient at cross-roads, in the hope that some passer-by may take the disease with him (Crooke, *PR* i. 164 f.). Many instances of such practices have been collected by Westermarck (*MI* ii. 256 n.), who comes to the conclusion that suicides were buried at cross-roads because the cross was believed to disperse the evil, so that this would be a favourite place where a person could divest himself of disease or other ills attributed to spirit agency.

(b) *Boundaries*.—Charms are often performed at boundaries, in order to protect the village from the entry of strange, and therefore hostile, spirits. The *baigā*, or medicine-man, of the non-Aryan tribes of the central hills, yearly makes a line with spirituous liquor along the village boundary to repel foreign spirits. The Kandhs, with the same object, used to offer animal sacrifices at their boundaries (Macpherson, *op. cit.* 366).

(c) *Cemeteries*.—Tāntrik charms, in which portions of corpses, human bones, or ashes from funeral pyres are used, are sometimes performed in cemeteries, which are believed to be the haunts of those demons whom it is the object of the charm to bring under control.

6. Conditions of charm-working.—(a) *Nudity*.—It is often an essential part of such rites that they shall be done in a state of nudity. A mason, in a state of nudity, sets up the 'magic stone' (*yantram rāyi*) in Madras (Thurston, *op. cit.* 264). In one of the folk-tales the conditions for working a charm are thus defined :

'Rise up in the last watch of the night, and with dishevelled hair and naked, and without rinsing your mouth, take two handfuls of rice as large as you can grasp with your two hands, and, muttering the form of words, go to a place where four roads meet, and there place the two handfuls of rice, and return in silence without looking behind you. Do so until the Piśācha [cannibal demon] appears' (Somadeva, *op. cit.* i. 255 f.; cf. 154).

This ceremonial nudity appears in many rites in India (*Journal Eth. Soc.* iv. 333 ff.; *JAI* v. 413; *PNQ* iv. 88, 197; Dubois, *op. cit.* 388). It perhaps represents profound submission to spirit power, or is based on the belief that clothes used in a sacred place or in magical rites become tabu and cannot be used again (W. R. Smith, p. 451).

(b) *Purity*.—The chief condition of successful charm-working is that the officiant must be in a state of personal purity. He must exercise extreme care in reciting the charm, lest, in the event of error, it may recoil upon himself. For this purpose he must be carefully instructed in the art. A person desirous of learning Muhammadan charms must repeat them several times for forty days, during which he should abstain from animal and certain other kinds of food (*BG* ix. pt. ii. 144). In a tale in the *Jātaka* (iv. 124 ff.) a man learns a charm from a Chāṇḍāla out-caste, and loses the power of working it because, through shame, he denies the source of his knowledge.

7. Methods of working charms.—The custom of waving things which are regarded as charms over

persons exposed to spirit dangers is common. The technical name for the process is *ārti* (Skr. *ārātrika*), and it is commonly used in making offerings to idols, etc. (Dubois, *op. cit.* 148 ff.). In Bengal, when a Nāpit bridegroom comes to fetch his bride, women wave round him a basket containing five lamps, five lumps of coloured earth, a looking-glass, a box, vermilion, turmeric, rice, and grass (Risley, *op. cit.* ii. 126). The Malāi Vellālas of Madras swing a live fowl round the married pair, wring its neck, and give it to the musicians (Thurston, *op. cit.* 279). With this may be compared the Musalmān rite known as *taṣadduk*, in which a person takes upon himself the calamity impending over another. It is told of the Emperor Bābar that, when his son Humāyūn was dangerously sick, he walked thrice round him, took his illness upon himself, and from that time lost his health (W. Erskine, *Hist. of India*, London, 1854, i. 513 f.; cf. Manucci, *Storia do Mogar*, 1907, i. 217). It is said that his grandfather in this way removed the disease of the late Sir Salar Jung (Bilgrami-Wilmott, *Hist. Sketch of the Nizam's Dominions*, Bombay, 1883, i. 148). On the same principle, at Hindu and Muhammadan weddings, old women crack their fingers and touch their foreheads, thus taking upon themselves the danger which menaces bride and bridegroom.

A favourite mode of using charms is to write the formula on paper or on the inside of a cup, and then to dissolve the writing in water, which is administered to the patient. For the same purpose, charms are often engraved inside metal cups which are reserved for this special object (Thurston, *op. cit.* 357; *BG* ix. pt. ii. 57 n.; cf. Waddell, *Lhasa*, 377). Medical prescriptions, which are really charms, given by the Lāmas, are eaten by the northern Buddhists, who also drink the water in which the magical writing has been reflected (Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, 401).

8. Charms and mimetic magic.—From the examples which have been given in this summary account of Indian charms, it will have been made clear how largely they depend upon the principles of white magic in the forms known as 'mimetic,' 'sympathetic,' or 'homœopathic.' Two ideas underlie magic of this kind: 'first, that like produces like, or that an effect resembles its cause; and second, that things which have once been in contact, but have ceased to be so, continue to act on each other as if the contact still persisted' (Frazer, *GB*² i. 9). The following examples illustrate these principles. The Burmese, in order to protect a person from drowning, tatu a representation of an egret or paddy-bird on the body (Shway Yoe, *op. cit.* i. 56). In N. India, wearing the bones of a wolf makes a child active (*NINQ* iv. 198). The Nāmbūtiri Brāhman husband in Malabar, at the 'male-production' rite (*pūmsavana*), feeds his wife with one grain of barley and two beans, symbolizing the genital organs of the male (*Bull. Madras Museum*, iii. 116). So in Bombay, cutting off and swallowing a portion of the foreskin of a newborn child produces male issue (*PNQ* iii. 116). In Bengal, at a Magh wedding, the bride and bridegroom eat some curry and rice from the same dish; what they leave is kept in a covered earthen vessel for seven days, during which the married couple may not leave the village or cross running water. On the eighth day the vessel is opened, and if maggots are found in the food, it is believed to show that the union will be fertile (Risley, *op. cit.* ii. 32). Ague is cured in N. India by enclosing parched grain in a marrow bone, which is buried in a hole just where the shadow of the patient falls, with the invocation: 'O fever, come when this grain sprouts again!' (*NINQ* ii. 9). In Madras, lumps of molasses are thrown into temple-tanks by

persons suffering from boils or abscesses, in the belief that the latter will disappear as the former are dissolved in the water (Thurston, *op. cit.* 352).

9. Amulets.—Amulets, which in the Tantrik school are known by the name *kavacha*, which means 'a cuirass, breastplate, or body armour,' are formed out of the same substances as those used in charms. Passages from a sacred book, as by Muhammadans the sections of the Qur'an known as 'The Daybreak' and 'Men' (Qur'an, *sūras* cxiii., cxiv.), are often enclosed in cases made of silver or other precious metal, and are worn round the neck or on the parts of the body most liable to danger, physical or spiritual. Such cases are often beautiful specimens of the art of the jeweller (see illustrations from the Panjāb and Tibet in Baden Powell, *Handbook of Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab*, Lahore, 1872, p. 178; Waddell, *Lhasa*, 348). When General Nicholson was attacked by a Ghāzi fanatic, he was obliged to shoot his assailant; the ball passed through a sacred book which he had tied across his breast as a protective (Kaye, *Lives of Indian Officers*, London, 1867, ii. 452). A curious form of amulet, known as 'the crown of the co-wife' (*saukan morā*), is used in N. India. It is an image of his first wife worn by a man who has married a second time. All gifts made to the new wife are first laid before the image of her predecessor, lest, through jealousy, the latter may work mischief (*PNQ* i. 14; Campbell, *op. cit.* 171). Compound amulets, containing a collection of various protectives, are commonly used. The Himalayan Buddhists wear cases containing little idols, charms, and written prayers, or the bones, hair, or nail-parings of a Lāma (Hooker, *Himalayan Journals*, London, 1891, pp. 89 f., 141). Chin men in Upper Burma wear in their necklaces tiger and bear claws; women wear hog-deer teeth; children, claws of the wild cat; merrythoughts of fowls are worn to commemorate recovery from illness through the sacrifice of a fowl; in similar cases men wear cocks' feathers round the throat, or tigers' claws or cocks' feathers attached to their gaiters (*Gazetteer*, i. pt. i. 469). An amulet worn by a man in the Panjāb was found to contain a piece of an umbilical cord encased in metal; a tiger's claw; two claws of the great owl turned in opposite directions, and fixed in a metal case; a stone, probably tourmaline or quartz; and an evil eye destroyer in the shape of a jasper or black marble head. These were all considered necessary. But, as an additional precaution, were added some gold, a whorled shell, an old copper coin, ashes from the fire of a Yogi ascetic, an iron ring, a cowrie shell, and the five ingredients out of which incense is made. The owner admitted that the last articles might advantageously have been replaced by a *yantra*, or magic copper tablet (*PNQ* iii. 186).

10. Functions of women in connexion with charms.—Women, owing to their greater susceptibility to spirit influence, are often appointed to priestly functions (cf. J. E. Harrison, *Proleg. to Gr. Rel.*, Cambridge, 1903, p. 260 ff.; Farnell, *op. cit.* v. 159 f.). It is old women of the family who usually perform the wave rite at marriage; and the same feeling accounts for the part taken in such magical rites by dancing girls and sacred slaves attached to the great Hindu temples (Campbell, *op. cit.* 336, 452 f.).

LITERATURE.—References to charms and amulets are found in many ethnographical works on the Indian races, some of which have been quoted in the course of this article. There does not appear to be any monograph on the subject. The most useful collections of charms are to be found in Sir J. M. Campbell, *Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom*, Bombay, 1885; E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in S. India*, Madras, 1906; *PNQ*, 1883-1887; *NINQ*, 1891-1896. The use of charms forms a considerable element in the folk-tale literature. See the standard collections, such as Somadeva, *Katha-sarīt-sāgara*, tr. C. H. Tawney, Calcutta, 1880; *The Jātaka*, ed. E. B. Cowell, Cam-

bridge, 1895-1907; Mrs. F. A. Steel and Sir R. C. Temple, *Widewake Stories*, Bombay, 1884; J. H. Knowles, *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, London, 1888; Lal Behari Day, *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, London, 1883; C. H. Bompas, *Folk-lore of the Santal Parganas*, London, 1909; M. Frere, *Old Deccan Days*, London, 1870; W. L. Hildburgh, in *JAL* xxxix. [1909], 368 ff.; A. N. Moherley, in *Memoirs As. Soc. Bengal*, i. 223 ff.

W. CROOKE.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Iranian).—A. though the name of the Zoroastrian priests, the Magi (on the meaning, see art. MAGI, and A. Carnoy, 'Le Nom des Mages,' in *Muséon*, new ser., ix.), has actually supplied the generic term for magic of all kinds, yet, as a matter of fact, 'witchcraft, incantations, and similar superstitions are indeed to be found among the ancient Iranian people, but apparently occupied no very extensive place' (Geiger, *Ostiran. Kultur*, Erlangen, 1882, p. 331). In this respect the Iranians stand in marked contrast to their Indian cousins, with their strong trend towards Tantrik and other superstitious practices. On the other hand, as the same writer justly remarks, a system which, like the Avesta, considers the whole world as filled with evil spirits and noxious creatures must naturally be disposed to avert the malignant effects of such beings. Among such are constantly reckoned some species of sorcerers or witches, known by the names of *jātū*, *pairika*, etc.; and 'witchcraft' is denounced as an abomination. It is against them, as well as against various forms of disease, noxious animals, and other physical ills, that prayers (*manthra*) and spoken or written charms (*nirang*) are directed. The Parsis possess formulæ of incantations and magical prayers in abundance, and Anquetil du Perron published many in his second volume (*Spiegel, Traditionelle Literatur*, ii. 167, Vienna, 1860).

Several such efficacious prayers or conjurations against evil creatures occur in the Avesta itself; and certain Avestan passages were considered specially efficacious, and are written out even at the present day, e.g. *Yast* xxxii. 5. Of material objects used as amulets there are fewer traces. The *locus classicus* in the Avesta is *Yast* xiv. (the 'Bahram *Yast*'). Therein Zarathustra asks what remedy there may be if a man who hates him throw a curse upon him, or utter a spell against him. Ahura Mazda directs him to 'take a feather of the wide-winged bird *vārengana* (owl, or raven[?]), and with it rub thy body; with that feather thou shalt curse back thy enemies.' If a man hold a bone or a feather of this same bird, no one can overcome him, but he will be ever victorious over all foes (*Yast* xiv. 33 ff., 'a most remarkable passage,' as Windischmann says [*Zor. Studien*, Berlin, 1863, p. 211]). But these feathers can also be used in divining the future. When two hostile armies are drawn up facing in battle array, the prophet is told either to throw or scatter four of the feathers in the space between the hostile ranks, and whichever of the two shall first worship the Genii of Strength and Victory shall gain the day. This spell is esoteric, and must be told to none except by father to son, brother to brother, or priest to pupil (*ib.* 43-46). The bird here referred to soon became identified with the mystic bird, Saēna, the Simurgh (see Casartelli, 'Cyena-Simurgh-Roc; un chapitre d'évolution mythologique,' in *Congrès scient. intern. des Catholiques*, Paris, 1891, vi. 79-87), whose feathers, in the *Shāh-nāmah*, cure both Rustam and his mother of their wounds.

Several formulæ of spells or amulets used by Zoroastrians have been published in recent years. J. J. Modi, in two papers read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay in 1894, described a charm for ulcer in the cornea of the eye, 'prepared by a respectable Parsee family of Nowsharee,' consisting of the root of a plant (*vār mogro* = *Jasminum pubescens*), plucked with very elaborate

ceremonial, bound round with yarn, and passed over fumes of incense. But the present writer doubts if this amulet, learned 'from a fakir,' is genuine Iranian. Modi also exhibited a stone amulet (marked with something like an eye) for the same disease. Again, he quoted a *tāviz*, or written conjuration, against all diseases of the eye, written in a mixture of Avestan, Pāzand, and Pahlavi, and to be tied on the left hand. In 1891 the same author published a Pahlavi spell against noxious insects, to be written with saffron water on deerskin or paper, and posted on the house door, whilst sand is blessed and sprinkled. He interprets an Avestan fragment (published by Westergaard [frag. 2]), whose obscurity has puzzled all translators, as (according to the heading of one old MS) 'a *nīrang* for forming friendships and companionships.' Three more such written charms are published by K. Edalji Kanga in the *Cama Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1900, viz. one in Pahlavi, for the destruction of noxious creatures, including wolves; another, in Pāzand, against rats, cats, snakes, and wolves; a third, also in Pāzand, against fever, diseases, and the evil eye. Spiegel (*loc. cit. supra*) published two curious charms: 'In order to put a stop to cattle-disease, take the *vāj Ardibihist* and write it out on a skin; cut off a little wool from the scrotum of a ram, then bind it up, and at the place where the sheep pass, bury it in the earth' (p. 167). Another is a *nīrang* 'to smite the evil spirit, the *dēvs*, magicians,' etc., and is a prayer, based on that of Zarathuštra in *Vend.* xix. 17 ff.

It is noteworthy that in nearly all these various conjunctory formulæ (most of which are preserved in Persian *riwāyats*) there is special mention of the great Iranian hero Thraētaona, the later Faridūn, with whom are often combined the star Tištrya, and other heavenly bodies. This is probably owing to the fact that Thraētaona is specifically connected with the healing art and the origin of medicine, in the same way as the Greek Asklepios. It is interesting to learn from Williams Jackson that he found among the Zoroastrians of Yezd at the present day similar charms and amulets in use against the evil eye. The *mobeds* are frequently called in to read passages from the Avesta for this purpose (*Persia Past and Present*, New York and London, 1906, p. 379).

LITERATURE.—J. Darmesteter, 'Zend-Avesta, ii,' in *SBE*, xxiii, tr. of *Bahram Yast* and notes, *Le Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1892-93, ii. 570 ff.; F. Spiegel, *Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen*, Leipzig, 1860, p. 167 ff.; W. Geiger, *Ostirān. Kultur im Alterthum*, Erlangen, 1882, p. 331 f.; J. J. Modi, *Charms or Amulets for Diseases of the Eye*, Bombay, 1894, *Two Amulets of Ancient Persia*, Bombay, 1901; K. E. Kanga, 'King Faridūn and a few of his Amulets and Charms,' in *Cama Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1900, pp. 141-145.

L. C. CASARTELLI.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Japanese).—

There are comparatively few houses of the lower or middle classes in Japan where amulets are not to be found, either openly displayed upon an outer doorway, as a warning to ill-disposed spirits, or carefully preserved from contamination within the household shrine; and few families in which some, at least, of the members do not carry amulets upon their persons. The majority of them are more or less religious in character, for at almost every temple or shrine charms or amulets may be bought, often those issued by the temple itself, but perhaps more frequently, especially in the case of the smaller places of worship, those issued by greater temples, or by famous shrines, of the same sect. They are called *o-mamori* ('honourable protections'—a term applied to amulets of religious origin, but more particularly to those which are portable), and *o-fuda* (tickets of religious origin, to be affixed to some part of a structure), or *majinai* (a term including minor magical, or supposedly magical,

practices, together with secular amulets), and may be divided, roughly, into amulets purely religious in conception; amulets which seem purely magical in conception, although they receive a religious sanction; amulets to which certain religious associations are attached; and purely secular amulets. The underlying feature, common to the amulets of both religious and secular origins, of most of the amulets, with the exception, of course, of those by which the beneficent influence of some deity is believed to be caused to be directed towards the possessors, is that of sympathy—a sympathy so wide that it embraces not only actual contact or association with the objects or vehicles of the ministrations, but also even a mere mental association, as in a play upon words. While the main principles of this sympathy are the same as those underlying the amulets and magical practices of most peoples, there are, in Japan, certain manifestations of it which appear to be peculiar to that country.

In Japan, contrary to the common usage in other countries, very few amulets are worn as ornaments, but probably we may ascribe this largely to the comparative absence of jewellery among the Japanese, there being but few objects worn by adults which could be replaced, in case of necessity, by others having an amuletic purpose. The rings, brooches, and pendants, which so often have served as media for amuletic intentions in other countries, are (except where of recent introduction) almost lacking in Japan. Combs and other hair-ornaments are occasionally amuletic, as in the case of those made from the horns of, or even with small effigies of, the Kasuga temple deer at Nara, which are worn against headache. But even *netsukes*, which might reasonably be expected to be found often used as amulets, show an almost negligibly small proportion so used; beyond the bottle-gourd (admirably adapted for a *netsuke* because of its shape), which is believed to protect its wearer from injury by falling, there seem to be very few *netsukes* which are amuletic by virtue of their design, and similarly few which are intrinsically amuletic. Few Japanese amulets are carried exposed to view—not, apparently, from the notion, found in other countries, that the efficacy of an amulet may be impaired if it be shown, but probably because the Japanese costume makes, except in the case of children, no provision for them. This opinion is strengthened by the fact that the amulets used for the protection of houses or their inhabitants are generally placed in such positions that they cannot fail to attract the attention of those concerned. The personal amulets, sometimes twenty to thirty in number, carried by adults are carefully wrapped up in the form of a small packet, often with a piece (even a mere fragment) of brocade to serve as their own amuletic protection against impairment of their virtues due to accidental contamination. Children's amulets,¹ however, such as the small bell, the bottle-gourd, the *maigo-fuda* (label with the child's address) with protective designs, or objects believed to be curative of various ailments, excepting the fragile ones carried in a special bag (the *o-mamori-kinchaku*), are commonly worn exposed to view, attached to the girdle (*obi*) or hung from the neck.

Amongst the principal purposes to which Japanese amulets are commonly applied are: general protection; protection from the demons causing ill-luck or various diseases; against accidents in general or of specific kinds, or to bear the burden of an injury in the event of an accident; the protection of houses, crops, or domestic animals; the

¹ Cf. W. L. Hildburgh, 'Japanese Household Magic,' in *Trans. Japan Soc.*, London, 1908.

direct (supposedly medicinal) alleviation of various maladies in which the effects are not ascribed to demons; in connexion with the phenomena of gestation and childbirth; against bewitching; and for the bringing of good fortune or, very commonly, improvement in one's luck.

The earliest recorded Japanese amulets seem to be the mythical 'Tide-flowing Jewel' and 'Tide-ebbing Jewel,' given by the god of the sea to the heavenly grandchild, whereby the actions of the tide might be controlled.¹ The actual amulets of pre- and proto-historic times have left few distinct traces. So many foreign influences have since been at work amongst the assimilative Japanese, that it is almost impossible to determine which of the beliefs relating to amulets formed of perishable materials—wood, seeds, hair, skin, claws, etc.—are of native origin, and which of foreign or of late derivation. Presumably, the perforated teeth, perforated shells, and certain of the anthropomorphic figures and plaques, found in the graves, served, as amongst other primitive peoples, as amulets, although their purposes can only be guessed at, since, strangely enough, neither perforated teeth nor shells appear to be used (as amongst other peoples) as amulets by the present-day Japanese. The well-known *magatama* ('curved jewels') and *kudatama* ('tube-shaped jewels') of proto-historic times may possibly have been amuletic, but the present evidence of this is insufficient to enable them to be so classed with certainty. The printed charms seem to be Buddhist in origin, and to have been brought with Buddhism from the Asiatic continent, although they are also issued at present in great numbers by the Shinto shrines; the earliest specimens of block-printing in Japan were Buddhist charms, of which a million were printed, dating from A.D. 770.²

The charms sold at the temples and shrines consist, for the most part, of slips of paper, printed in black with a sacred text, or a more or less rude woodcut of the divinity whose aid is invoked, or the name of the shrine, or one or more of these, together with the purpose of the amulet; and they are generally folded up and enclosed in envelopes, often both the charm and the envelope bearing a red imprint of the seal of the shrine to attest their genuineness. Instead of the deity's picture, there may be given the picture of some animal or object intimately associated with the deity—the foxes of Inari, for example, or the wild-dogs of the deity at Mituminesan, whose likeness protects from burglary; or a horse, used by jinriksha coolies to increase their fleetness of foot; or a demon, the hand of Kobo Daishi, a fan, rice-bales, etc.—in virtue of which picture the charm may be used, because of its assumed sympathetic relations therewith, for purposes entirely unconnected with the divinity actually invoked. Some of the paper charms serve several purposes, such, for example, as those issued by the Suitengu shrines bearing five debased Sanskrit characters, which are carried for general protection, but which, a character at a time, may be eaten or drunk as remedial agents, or used in a domestic form of divination; or a certain picture of Daikoku bearing his sack, used as a traveller's amulet, or a draught for childbirth, or to represent the victim (a thief with his booty) in a ceremony for injury which is performed by perforating an image. Sometimes the charms are made of wood instead of paper, forming small tickets to be carried, or large ones to be fastened over doorways, upon ships, or in similar situations. At some temples, charms are issued for many different purposes; thus at the temple of Sensoji at

Asakusa, Tokyo ('Asakusa Kwannon'), the paper amulets to be carried (all alike in form and differing only in their inscriptions) included, in 1907, special amulets against lightning, dangers while travelling, dangers on shipboard, conflagrations, misfortunes in general, calamity due to sickness, burns or scalds, 'insects' (within the body, supposed to be the cause of certain ailments), and for the purpose of bettering one's fortune.

Other purely religious amulets sold at the temples include small images of the deities or their attendants, in wood, clay, or metal, or even carved from grains of rice; medals (a modern development, corresponding to the paper amulets for general protection); relics, such as fragments of the shrines periodically demolished at Ise; paper *gohei*; and food which has been offered to the deities. There are also preserved as amulets, although not commonly sold at the temples, *shari*, stone-like relics of Buddhist saints, which are generally kept in more or less elaborate tower-shaped reliquaries (*shari-to*), though they are occasionally carried upon the person.

The religious amulets are preferably obtained by their users, and during the course of a pilgrimage; but since a pilgrimage is not always feasible, a pilgrim will usually bring back with him a considerable number of amulets from the more famous and popular shrines for distribution among his friends. The cost of the paper amulets is generally very small, although amulets of finer materials may be fairly expensive. The paper amulets bearing Buddhist texts should be retained within their envelopes, and not taken out and read; this is probably intended merely to avoid danger of contamination. People prefer to renew their amulets yearly, if possible; and, when they have replaced the old amulets by new ones, they destroy the former in a 'clean' manner, by throwing them into running water or burning them in a fire of clean materials.

Of amulets, whose underlying conceptions seem purely magical, yet which receive a religious sanction and are sold by the priests, the charmed sand for the cure of disease and for protection, the fragments of stone to be carried by childless persons desirous of offspring, the parti-coloured girdles of paper to be worn as a protection during pregnancy, and the combs for straightening wavy hair may be cited.

The third category—amulets to which, although they are not sold by the priests, religious associations are more or less attached—includes a large and very curious class, of which only a few typical examples can be given here. Such are the small elongated packets of cooked food wrapped in leaves, thrown, tied together in bunches, from the processional cars at a great temple-festival at Kyoto to the spectators along the route, to be scrambled for eagerly, and thereafter, if not eaten, to be fastened up by doorways as a protection against thieves; the charred fragments of the wood used at certain fire-festivals; the lanterns affixed to the houses in honour of some religious festivals; and possibly, to a certain extent, the special toys or ornaments sold annually at various temple-fairs and placed within a shop to ensure its prosperity, or the sweepings of the outer platform of a popular temple, to be scattered in the morning just outside the shop, to ensure good trade for the day. As the extreme stage there may possibly be taken such amulets as the stick of holly with the head of a sardine stuck upon it, placed at the outer doorway at the Setsubun festival in order to prevent the demons from re-entering the house after having been magically driven out;¹ or various other objects, some genuinely religious, some

¹ Cf. W. G. Aston's *Nihongi* (Eng. tr.), London, 1896.

² B. H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese*, London, 1906.

¹ W. G. Aston, *Shinto*, London, 1906, p. 313.

secular in character, used in connexion with the New Year ceremonies, and preserved, as protective, throughout the year.

Of purely, or apparently purely, secular amulets there are a multitude, of so many kinds that it is possible here to refer only to some of the principal varieties. Corresponding to the religious printed charms there are secular written charms for all sorts of purposes, some of which are merely verses, or notices intended for the attention of the offenders, or even meaningless formulæ, while others consist of certain ideographs repeated many times and arranged in some specified design, or of magical formulæ, interspersed with magical designs. Some of the simpler of these charms are commonly known; others may be obtained from printed collections of household recipes; others require preparation by a professional magician or diviner.

Puns, although used in connexion with amulets, are more common in other forms of magic. The use of *imori* (a kind of red-bellied newt) for the production of an amuletic love-powder is probably derived from a pun on *imo* ('woman,' or perhaps 'darling') and *ri* ('victory' or 'gain').¹ Another form of the principle is illustrated by a cure for a corn (one name of which is *mame*, 'a bean') on the foot, in which the ideograph for 'pigeon' is written thrice upon the corn and then (when the 'pigeon' has eaten the 'bean') is rubbed out.

Images of persons or animals inimical to the feared sources of danger are used. Thus, an image of Shoki, the slayer of demons, is placed upon a roof to frighten demons away from a house; or a picture of the *baku*, a mythical animal believed to have the power of swallowing evil dreams, is painted upon a pillow, as a charm against nightmare. An extension of the principle to paper amulets consists of the written name of an enemy of the particular demons feared, pasted above a doorway in order to give the idea that the house is his. Another extension seems to lie in the use of the imprint of the hand, actually or supposedly that of some influential personage, in ink upon paper; this application of the hand-imprint apparently differs in origin from that of the imprint of the hand of a prospective or possible victim (generally a child) of certain diseases, which may be similarly placed. Representations of the animals of the Chinese Cycle are used to preserve from harm persons born in their respective years, or at some fixed time (such as that of the seventh animal away) from their respective years; for example, children wear *maigo-fuda* inscribed with a likeness of the animal of their birth-year. Living fish of a certain kind may be kept as amulets; the shells of molluscs or crustaceans are also used. Vegetables, fruits, flowers, seeds, and stems of certain kinds are used amulectically, principally about the house. Thus, in some districts a bulb (and stem) of garlic is fastened to the doorway, in order to protect the inmates from infectious diseases, presumably on the principle that the powerful odour of the garlic will overcome the odours believed to be connected with the diseases.

Certain coins and coin-like tokens are believed to have protective or curative virtues, due either to their composition (as in the case of the *bun-sen*, made from the metal of a Daibutsu destroyed by an earthquake), or to the inscriptions or designs, sometimes religious, sometimes secular, which they bear.² Children's toys of various kinds are used amulectically. For example, the *maneki neko* ('beckoning cat'), the image of a cat resting upon its haunches and having one forepaw raised as if

in invitation, is an amulet commonly used to attract custom to a shop; and the tumbling toy representing Daruma (a Buddhist ascetic whose legs dropped off through inaction) is used in a variety of ways, such as, because of its stability, to prevent a wrestler from being overthrown, or, because of its red colour, against certain diseases. Small bells, to whose tinkling the power of keeping demons away from a child is sometimes still ascribed, although the belief in their virtues is more often found at present in connexion with falling, are worn by children. The colour red, noted above, is often used in amulets or charms for general preservation, for the cure of several diseases, and for matters related to the blood. Certain magical properties are also attributed to purple, but in general there does not seem to be so great a reliance on the magical virtues of colours as is to be found amongst other peoples. The type of amulet in which the interests of numerous persons are combined in favour of the wearer of the amulet is well represented, one of its best illustrations being the girdle, commonly worn by soldiers in the Russo-Japanese war, of cloth containing 1000 knotted stitches, each made, with a short wish for the preservation of the future wearer, by a different woman.

In conclusion, attention should be directed to Western amulets, which are being introduced with Western culture. The medals now issued at several shrines have been noted, but a more striking example is that of the iron horse-shoe which, at seaport towns and in places where cavalry are stationed, may occasionally be found used as an amulet in European fashion.

LITERATURE.—W. G. Aston, *Shinto*, Lond. 1905; B. H. Chamberlain, 'Notes on Some Minor Japanese Religious Practices,' in *JAF* xxii. (1893), and *Things Japanese*, Lond. 1906; F. Brinkley, *Japan*, Lond. 1904, vol. v. ch. 6, 'Superstitions'; W. L. Hildburgh, 'Japanese Household Magic,' in *Trans. Japan Soc.* (Lond.), 1908; J. E. de Becker, *The Nightless City*, Yokohama, 1905; E. W. Clement, 'Japanese Medical Folk-Lore,' in *TASS*, vol. xxxv. (1907). Numerous references to charms and amulets are scattered throughout Chamberlain's *Murray's Handbook for Japan* (various editions); L. Hearn's *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, Boston, 1894; and J. C. Hepburn's *Japanese-English Dict.*, London, 1893.

W. L. HILDBURGH.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Jewish).—It is necessary to define more accurately the meaning of the words 'charm' and 'amulet,' which are now used somewhat indiscriminately, though there is a profound difference between them. The field covered by both together is much larger than that by each of them separately, and they must therefore be treated separately if we are to gain a clear insight into this part of practical magic. The 'charm,' as the name denotes, is a *carmen* (from which the word is derived), an incantation, a mystical song or spoken spell. The 'amulet' is not the spoken word, but the written or engraved representative of it. It is worn as a protection, a talisman (*apotelesma*); it exercises a decided beneficial effect for the wearer, man or beast; it averts evil. The 'charm,' again, is the work of an expert: a priest, a wizard, one initiated, or one specially prepared and taught can perform it. It is of a twofold character: it may do good or it may cause evil. It may protect man from the attacks of unknown—and in some cases known—foes, human or superhuman; or it may inflict terrible diseases, nay, bring about the destruction of the enemy. It may also heal the patient by driving away the cause of illness, or it may transfer the illness to other persons. A charm may be only an incantation, the recital of a certain poem or a string of words,—some intelligible and some unintelligible to mortals,—and may be accompanied by some mysterious actions; or it may assume the form of a conjuration, a powerful oath binding the

¹ Hildburgh, 'Japanese Household Magic' (*loc. cit.*)

² Cf. N. G. Munro, *Coins of Japan*, Yokohama, 1904, for engravings of some of these.

forces of evil and compelling them to act according to the will of the 'conjurer.' The latter is credited with possessing the knowledge of words or 'spells,' which give him the mastery over such invisible powers; and he afterwards becomes the writer of the amulet or the maker of such mystical tokens and symbols, to which similar protective power is ascribed. And, just as there are unintelligible words in the charm, so there are unintelligible words and signs on the talismans. These are understood only by the man who draws them, and are dreaded by those powers which he wishes to subdue and make to serve his purposes, or whose aid he invokes in combating other inimical powers.

It was necessary to formulate at the beginning the theoretical aspect of the practical Kabbala, if this term be used in a wider sense, in order to explain the fundamental system of Jewish charms and amulets such as have been preserved to us and found in ancient books of magic and of mystical tradition. The names which charms and amulets bear in Hebrew are extremely suggestive. We, of course, eschew here everything referring to the magical practices mentioned in the Bible, for, on the one hand, they are things forbidden and not practised by the Jews, and, on the other, they belong to the art. MAGIC proper, whilst the charms and amulets are merely one part of the magical literature and practice of old. With the possible exception of the word *ḥāshīm* found in Is 3²⁰, where it seems to denote a certain ornament worn by women, there is no direct mention in the OT of any real charm. Nor could it find a place there. The underlying idea of all charms is more or less a negation of the Unity of God. It presupposes a number of evil spirits endowed with great power, bent on doing harm to man or beast; and also various ranks or degrees of powers among these spirits or demons, some greater, others smaller. Therefore, if one could obtain the help of the more powerful, one could by their assistance avert all the consequences of the machinations and attacks of inferior demons. One could also use that assistance to the detriment of one's foes. Such a hierarchy of evil spirits, nay, the very existence of a powerful evil spirit who from without could injure man, contradicts the very principle of the Unity of God, and thus it is no wonder if no mention of charms is made in the Bible.

A problem which has hitherto not been touched upon is, How did the notion of such evil spirits, of demons and *shedim*, enter into the conception and beliefs of post-Biblical Judaism? The question is raised here for the first time, and we shall deal with it as succinctly as possible—mainly for the purpose of helping us to understand how such a remarkable syncretism could arise at the time of the beginnings of Christianity and be found in the mystical speculations of the numerous Jewish sects that flourished in Palestine, Egypt, and Western Asia during the last centuries before and the first centuries after Christ. The regular process observed in the religious evolution of nations has been that, when they adopted a new teaching, the old was not entirely forgotten, but only relegated to a secondary place of consideration. The gods of the older religion became the spirits and then the demons of the later. European demonology is the best and most convincing proof of this evolution. The old practices are retained, but when they cannot be sufficiently assimilated to the new principles, they become 'superstitions' (that which 'remains standing over,' 'survivals'). We assume now that the process of evolution in ancient Israel followed the same line, for then it is easy to understand how the Israelites became acquainted in the first place with demons and

shedim, and how the practice of conjuring them arose in their midst. The old gods of the aborigines and of the surrounding nations, and then those of the Babylonians and Egyptians, etc., became evil spirits, demons; and the ancient practices became 'the ways of the Amorites' (*Sanhedrin*, lxv. 6; *Shabb.* lxvii. 6), stigmatized as superstitions to be shunned, and rigorously forbidden to the observant Jew. Now the very essence of any 'god' and similarly of these 'gods' is the name. The knowledge of the name hands the god over to him who has obtained that knowledge, for with it he has obtained the full mastery over the god. If such is the case with the heathen god, it follows naturally that much greater would be the power of the operator if he obtained the knowledge of the names of the angels who minister before the true God, and still more if he could obtain the knowledge of the mysterious ineffable Name of God Himself, the creating Word, the power by which the heavens and the earth and the fullness thereof had been created. Everything and everybody short of God Himself—as the Name was only an outward manifestation of His creative power and not the sum and substance of His being—could then be made subservient to the wielder of that Name. The heavenly hierarchy, with its numerous angels and the manifold names of God, is set forth in the old book of the 'Heavenly Halls,' from which most of these names were drawn. A full discussion of the mysterious, ineffable Name of God, the Tetragrammaton, with its innumerable combinations, manipulations, and modalities, lies outside the immediate scope of this article. The whole Jewish magical literature, as well as the entire basis of Jewish charm and amulet, will be found, however, to rest on the use of that and other Names in the manner sketched above. The differentiation begins with the names and the *modus operandi*, but otherwise little difference can be found between one set and another.

The practices prohibited in the Bible, like the *yid'ōni* or *hōber heber*, as well as the *m'khash-shēph* (variously translated and no doubt erroneously), we pass over. Whether the 'singing' of David (1 S 16¹⁸), who thereby drove away the evil spirit, the *afflatus* (for that is the correct tr. of the Heb. *rūah*) which had taken hold of Saul, was an 'incantation,' it would be difficult to say. It is not impossible, though no one has yet suggested it. We may recall that the daughter of Saul had 'teraphim,' which she placed in the bed to hide the disappearance of David (1 S 19¹⁸), and David himself put on an 'ephod' (2 S 6¹⁴ and 1 Ch 15²⁷) as if he were a priest. The operations of the 'witch' of Endor (1 S 23³⁶) are very obscure, but they remind one of the oldest forms of 'conjurations,' by means of which the dead are made to reappear in this world. But conjuration, casting out of evil spirits (by means of the Name), was an universal practice in the time of the Apostles; it must already have flourished long before among the various sects, and is referred to in the records of the NT. Not only heathen but also Jews exorcized demons (Ac 19¹³), and Justin Martyr in the 2nd cent. speaks of the Jews who exorcize demons (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 76):

'We exorcize all demons and evil spirits, [and] have them subjected to us.' Similarly ch. 86: 'But though you exorcize any demon in the name of any of those who were amongst you,—either kings or righteous men, or prophets, or patriarchs,—it will not be subject to you. But if any of you exorcize it in [the name of] the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, it will perhaps be subject to you. Now assuredly your exorcists, I have said [ch. 76], make use of craft when they exorcize even as the Gentiles do, and employ fumigations and incantations.'

Some of these exorcisms and charms seem to have been preserved in the later form of the Tables of Defixion, and in the Greek texts found in the

Magical Papyri where the 'Logos Ebraikos' and 'Orkismata Ebraika' are mentioned. They are conjurations and incantations for the protection of the wearers, or for the benefit of those who ordered them, averting evil or inflicting harm. Of the same nature may have been the conjuration or the exorcism of the Essene Eleazar, who drove out an evil spirit from a demoniac (Jos. *Ant.* VIII. ii. 5 [45-49, ed. Niese]) by means of an incantation composed originally by King Solomon, and evidently forming part of the book in which he had left directions for expelling demons—'a method of cure of great force unto this day,' according to Josephus. The 'Logos Ebraikos,' mentioned above, of the Paris Papyrus (presumably of the 2nd cent. A.D.) has been shown by the present writer (*JRAS*, 1901) to be an abstract from the Book of Enoch, full of esoteric teaching, and considered to be a revelation of heavenly mysteries. The famous Table from Hadrumet is another exorcism preserved from ancient times, a real charm of purely Jewish origin, which gives us the very form and substance of these old charms and spells.

Another example of exorcizing a demon is contained in the Talmudical history of the journey of R. Simeon ben Yoḥai to Rome; he drives out a demon from the daughter of the Emperor, and thus obtains those favours for the people which he had been deputed to ask. The name of the demon was Ben Temalion (Bar Tolomæus!) (*Me'ila*, 17b). An incantation recited in the name of Jesus, son of Pandira, over a patient had the desired effect of healing the patient, though the man who uttered the exorcism was sternly rebuked for having used the name of Jesus in the exorcism (Jerus. *Shabb.* 14d). Apocryphal books, ascribed to Moses, Solomon, etc., and spells in Greek Papyri and Hebrew MSS which have thus far been preserved, allow us an insight into the form of these conjurations and incantations. They follow the general line. Mystical and magical names of angels and of God are invoked, and mixed up with them are incidents of Biblical history of a symbolical character; for it was expected that the reciting of an event in which God had saved either the whole nation or some individual, or healed one or many, would have the same effect of healing the patient to whom the words were addressed, and driving away the cause of the evil, the demon who possessed him. To certain passages and verses of the Bible a special symbolical meaning was attached: e.g. Ex 15²³, 'for I, the Lord, will heal thee,' is mentioned in an incantation in Mishn. *Sanh.* x. 1. In *Sifra ad Levit.* 26⁸ we find that the recital of Ps 92 'drives the *mazzikim* (evil spirits) from the world.' More of this will be mentioned later, when the incantation and exorcism have become amulets.

In Hebrew MSS of a later age the present writer has discovered almost identical 'conjurations' (*hashbā'oth*), into which also some astrological notions have crept. The sphere of good and evil powers expands. The magical 'pantheon' has no limits. Not only are the angels and God Himself appealed to, but in a special manner such angels and forces as are believed to inhabit the sun, moon, and stars; and in addition to them other invisible powers mighty upon earth and under the earth. The *apotelesmatic* literature and the 'Sabæan' mythology, reduced to magical formulæ, joined the other, in which only the names of the heavenly hierarchy were invoked. Such is the case in the 'Wisdom of the Chaldeans' (ed. Gaster, *PSBA*, Dec. 1900). In the so-called 'Testament of Solomon,' the Greek forms of such conjurations, going back to the first centuries of the Christian era, are found; and the Hebrew 'Sword of Moses' (discovered by the present writer, and edited,

London, 1896) is a complete manual of charms and directions as to how each of the numerous mysterious names in which it abounds is to be used on the different occasions when it would be applied. In these books, as in some of the Papyri, it is no longer an incantation or a recitation of powerful names by word of mouth which is to have the desired effect; the *written* word takes the place of the *spoken*. The ancient 'charm' has become a formula, which is inscribed on bowls, on potsherds, on parchment; and the names of these powers, when written down, exercise the same influence upon the evil demon as the spoken incantation. The 'charm' has been turned into an 'amulet.'

In Hebrew literature the name *kemī'a* is given to the amulet, and also *sgūlōth* (plural)—the latter apparently of a more recent origin. Contrary to the etymologies given hitherto to the word *kemī'a*, explaining it to mean 'a folded thing,' 'a satchel,' with mystical writings in it or with certain drugs and herbs, the present writer sees it in the 'cameo' of the Gnostics, the gem with the mystical inscription and with the seal. From the gem the inscription was transferred to the parchment, and with it also mystical and magical symbols. The human figure engraved on it was, of course, omitted as being contrary to the commandment not to have any graven images of anything, or the likeness of that which is in the heavens above, or on the earth, or under the earth. But all the rest was placed in the amulet as a means of protection. All that was spoken before was now written down, and in addition to the words—and, as we shall see, of the verses and chapters of the Bible—there was the 'seal.'

Next to a name there was nothing so personal, so precise in the characterization of the individuality of each demon and spirit, as the 'seal.' Just as no two persons, much less two angels or demons, have the same name, so also, it is conceived, no two demons could have the same seal or signature. Each one has a seal of his own, by which he ratifies the pact and 'seals' the doom. By it he is recognized and identified, and the knowledge of that seal gives to the magician or exorcist the same power over that demon as the knowledge of the name. It is the *sphragis* of the Gnostic teaching and of the old magical formulæ. The Hebrew word for 'seal' is *hōthām*, and this is the clue to the explanation of the other name which the amulet has in Hebrew. It is called *sgūlāh*, but more often *sgūlōth*—a name which has hitherto baffled every attempt at explanation. For the Heb. word *sgūlāh* means 'select' or 'treasure,' which has nothing whatever to do with an amulet. But by way of popular etymology the Greek word *sigla* (also plural), meaning 'ciphers,' etc. (*i.e.* the mystical seals), taken over with the amulet, was transformed into the Heb. *sgūlōth*. The seal of the demon was regularly inserted in the prescription, and often added at the end of the formula. Here also there was a constant evolution going on. The seal was originally the 'signature,' written, of course, with special 'demoniacal' signs, or letters, or combinations. The demons as well as the angels had thus alphabets of their own. Such alphabets were then invented, and in these strange characters the mysterious names were written. There are such alphabets found in old MSS ascribed to the angel Metatron; then there is an alphabet of the angels, of Moses, of Abraham, and also of other unknown authorities, but of equal potency in subduing evil spirits.

The oldest mention of 'amulets' worn on the body is in 2 Mac 12⁴⁰. 'Under the shirts of every one that was slain, they found things consecrated to the idols of the Jamnites which is forbidden the Jews by the Law'; and for this transgression in

wearing such things consecrated to the idols they were slain. The practice must have existed then in Palestine, for even the soldiers under the Maccabæan could not free themselves from it. If, instead of 'things consecrated to idols' or votive offerings (?) banned by the Law, they had carried the Name of God or of His angels, there would probably not have been any exception taken. We next find the *kemi'a* in the Mishna as a regular practice sanctioned by common usage; the only question raised was as to whether man or beast would be allowed to wear it on the Sabbath (*Shabb. 78b, Kiddush. 73b*). It is there described as a satchel or a folded piece of parchment, with writing in it and containing also drugs. The writing supposed to have been in the *kemi'a* was a series of names of God and of Biblical verses of symbolical character, which were to protect the wearer from any attack of evil demon or illness. Besides symbolical verses with sympathetic contents, other verses were used on the strength of traditional interpretations that they contained one or other of the mystical Names of God. Of all the verses in the Bible, Ex 14¹⁸⁻²¹ are those of the highest magical and mystical importance. These three verses consist each of 72 letters, and one of the mysterious names of God consists also of 72 letters. Those three verses then are believed to represent the ineffable Name, and they are combined and transposed, and manipulated so as to form 72 groups of names of three letters each, one letter from each of the three verses. Nu 23²²⁻²³ begins with the word which may mean either 'God' or 'No,' and forms a palindrome, if the word is read backwards, as is done with some of the Biblical verses in the amulets, mentioned already in the Talmud (*Pesah. 111a*). The formula of that prayer (amulet) alluded to in the Talmud has been preserved in full by R. Hananel of the 10th century. It runs as follows:

'Lord God save me from all evil, from all hurt and harm, for in Thine hand is strength and might, and Thou art God'; or, if the allusion is to Nu 23¹⁹, 'Do not forsake me, my God, do not leave me. Take care of me as of the apple of the eye, fulfil my wishes, grant my request, hear me before I call unto Thee; say not No.'

In addition to the Pentateuch, the book of predilection for such use was the Psalter, and not only were whole Psalms considered efficacious against magic (e.g. Ps 92 mentioned above, Ps 91 known as 'the song against evil attacks' [*shir shel pga'im*], and others, like Ps 145, which, if repeated thrice in the course of the day, would open the gates of Paradise), but each Psalm was a specific against one illness or other; for in some of the verses of each of the 150 Psalms a mysterious Divine name was concealed. A book called *Shimush Tehillim*, 'The mystical Use of the Psalms,' is mentioned from ancient times, and has been preserved. We find here an indication, at the head of each Psalm, of the good which may be accomplished by the recitation of it. The range of usefulness is very great. It covers many forms of illness; it affords help against robbers and evil-doers; it provides support for one appearing before a judge or ruler; it secures favour and love, protection against evil spirits, assiduity in study, and a good and retentive memory. To this very day the Psalms are recited, and the whole book read, in case of serious illness. The best known amulet is Ps 67, written in the form of a seven-branched candlestick, in a peculiar manner, and with the initial and final letters combined to form mystical names. Similarly a book called *Shimush Tefillin* is mentioned in writings of the 8th cent., but no positive information has been preserved. The phylacteries (for that is the meaning given to *Tefillin*) were considered as a protection against evil spirits as far back as the Targum

to Canticles (8*), but even in the time of Justin Martyr they were not yet believed to be amulets (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 46). Their efficacy in protecting against demons rested on the Biblical passages written thereon. In outward appearance they look like amulet cases worn to this day by the Arabs and found also among the ancient Babylonians. The inscription on the parchment inside was the protection, especially as some of the letters had to have a peculiar ornamentation, *taggin*, or 'crowns.'

More elaborate than the short incantations and amulets with Biblical verses and the names of God and His angels are those in which the astrological element had been added, and with it also foreign names whose heathen origin was entirely forgotten. Such are the 'Wisdom of the Chaldeans' mentioned above, where the guardian angels of the planets are fully described, and in some MSS also depicted; further, the so-called 'Key of Solomon' (the famous 'Clavicula'), and the 'Book of the Moon'—all full of the most extraordinary medley of Greek, Babylonian, Egyptian, and other ancient traditions, mixed up with Biblical quotations, and with references to the mysterious power of the combined letters of the various magical names, and having also *sigla* and other ornamented signs.

In more recent times the elaborate ancient amulet has given way to simpler forms—tablets, metal disks, medals with the names either engraved or stamped upon them, or small pieces of parchment to be worn round the neck, and consisting of Biblical verses disposed in magical intersecting circles, the corners being filled up with mystical names, and having, as a rule, the name 'Shaddai' in the centre, or Ps 67 written in the form of the seven-branched candlestick, with or without further additions from the Kabbalistic literature.

The history of Jewish charms and amulets has a romance of its own. In turns condemned and allowed, towards the middle of the 18th cent. the writing of certain amulets by a great Talmudical scholar not only brought him near excommunication, but almost divided Jewry against itself. R. Jacob Eilshenshut, the Rabbi of Hamburg, had written a number of amulets which, his antagonist Jacob Emden alleged, contained among the holy names also that of the false Messiah Sabbetai Tzebi, and hence the writer was accused of being a partisan of the false Messiah. Being written in a cryptic form, the amulets could be deciphered so as to read as Emden alleged. The controversy lasted many years, and helped to destroy the belief in amulets among European Jews.

In defining here as briefly as possible the principal elements of Jewish amulets and spells, we have deliberately refrained from mentioning any date. The study of the beginnings of the Kabbala and of mysticism among the Jews in general is either in its infancy, or is influenced by biased notions and preconceived ideas, in most cases unsympathetic towards it. Assertions are made that it is of comparatively modern origin—9th–10th century—in spite of overwhelming contradictory evidence, which forces us to recognize that it belongs to a very old stratum of popular belief, and that it also grew and developed on familiar lines, adopting and adapting many elements from other sources and moulding them in accordance with the fundamental principle of the Unity of God and of the limited power of evil spirits. Popular beliefs know no rigid dogma, and much of that which is held to be strong and efficacious among other peoples is taken over in the belief that it would be beneficial. The literature of this branch of mysticism, practical Kabbala, is still mostly in MSS. It is also found among the medical recipes as a recognized part of the medical practitioner, who would use drugs and amulets indiscriminately or conjointly, for the use of the amulet is as wide-spread as that of any other medicine. There is nothing for which one or

more amulets could not be prescribed, and the practice goes even further, for by means of amulets such results could be obtained as the drug alone could not effect: luck, good fortune and riches, favour and strength, the power of making oneself invisible, covering wide stretches of ground in an incredibly short time, preventing persecution, slaying wild animals and wilder enemies, holding communion with the dead, obtaining a sword that would fight the enemies, and many more wonderful things which no real drug could produce. The subduing of evil demons through the invocation of the aid of good spirits is only a materialization of higher spiritual truths. Faith is the underlying principle. One example may suffice to give an idea of such amulets, inasmuch as it contains also the directions for writing it.

Against Fever.

'Ab Abr Abrak Abraka
Abrakal Abrakala Abrakal
Abraka Abrak Abra Abr Ab.

"And the people called unto Moses, and Moses prayed to God, and the fire abated" (Nu 113). May healing come from Heaven from all kinds of fever and consumption-heat to N. son of N. Amen Amen Amen. Selah Selah Selah.

This Name which we have written down as a cure against fever must be written exactly as it is written in the scroll of the Law, on specially prepared parchment intended for the sanctification of the name of God. It must be written with square or "Ashuri" letters, so that no letter shall touch the next, leaving a free margin round each letter; and it must be written in purity and whilst fasting. It is good also, after writing it, to place it folded in a piece of hair leather or anything else that is proper, or one is to put it (sew it) in some cotton or some soft rag, and wrap it round with a piece of leather which has not come near any uncleanness. And, when thou hast girded it round the neck of the patient, do it when he is not aware of it, or when he is asleep; and he is not to look at it all that day and the following night. The lines on the parchment must be drawn on the hairy side, and the writing must be on the flesh side; and it must be done in the name of the patient. The parchment must be cut in the name of the patient, and the drawing of the lines must be done likewise; and when he (i.e. the writer) dips the pen into properly prepared ink, he must say: "In the name of Shaddai who created heaven and earth, I, N. son of N., write this *kemi'a* for X., son of X., to heal him of every kind of fever." And then he must say the blessing of the *kemi'a* as follows: "Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, who hast sanctified Thy great name and hast revealed it to Thy pious ones, to show its great power and might in the language [in which it is expressed], in the writing of it, and in the utterance of the mouth. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, holy King, whose great name be exalted!" (Cod. Gaster, 38 fol. 11, 'The Ets hada'ath of Eleha of Ancona' of 1536).

Here all the elements of the *kemi'a* are to be found: at the head the mysterious name which reminds one of the Abraxas; then the Biblical, symbolical, and sympathetic quotation; then an invocation in Aramaic; and the final threefold Amen and Selah. The writing and preparation are the same for every *kemi'a*. In others more of these mystical names occur, and *sigla* are added, besides the supposed figures of angels and demons, as well as signs and drawings—among them the so-called 'shield of David' (the hexagon), inscribed with various letters and holy names.

LITERATURE.—The books and MSS in which charms and amulets are mentioned are so numerous, considering that they form part of the practical Kabbala and are often referred to in the theoretical treatises on Kabbalistic teaching and speculations on the Name of God, that we limit the present bibliography to the most prominent books, in which prescriptions and formulæ for conjurations, spells, and amulets form the preponderating part, or are exclusively devoted to this branch of Kabbala. Most of the books and MSS mentioned in the Literature to art. BIRTH (Jewish) belong also to the present article. In addition the following may be given:—

PRINTED BOOKS.—Zunz, *Gottesdienstl. Vorträge der Juden*², Frankfurt, 1892, pp. 172-179 (the whole of the Talmudical mystical literature); *Sefer Hechaloth*, and *Sefer Yetsirah*, numerous editions; S. Raziël *Hamalach*, 1st ed., Amsterdam, 1701, pp. 40-46b (the fountainhead of many modern amulets); *Harba de Mosheh*, 'The Sword of Moses', ed. M. Gaster, London, 1896; 'The Wisdom of the Chaldeans', ed. M. Gaster, London, 1900 (PSBA); 'The Logos Ebraikos', by M. Gaster (JRS, 1901); *Sefer Shimush Tehillim*, ed. Heldenheim, together with the Book of Psalms (Rüdelheim, 4th ed. 1852) fol. 125b, 135a; *Mafteah Shelomo*, 'The Clavicula Solomonis', ed. H. Gollancz, London, 1903; 'The Testament of Solomon', Eng. tr. by Conybeare (JQR xi. [1899]); *Shem Tob Kattan*, by Benjamin Benish, Zolkiew, 1798; *Derech Yesharah* of Reuben C. Abraham, Leghorn, 1788; *Dabek Meah* of Abraham O. Shalom Hamwee,

Leghorn, 1874, and *Nisla'im Ma'asecha*, Leghorn, 1881; *Yalkut Eliczer* of Zusman Eliczer, Presburg, 1864-71, vol. iii. f. 85a-92b; R. J. Emden, *Sefer Enet Veshashon Zehorit*, 1752, with the copies of the alleged Eibenshutz amulets; Jacob Asheri, *Tur Yoreh Deah*, ch. 179; Joseph Karo, *Shulhan Aruch Yoreh Deah*, ch. 179, *Orak Hayim*, ch. 301, § 25-27; L. Blau, *Das altjüd. Zauberwesen*, Budapest, 1890; M. Schwab's *Vocabulaire de l'angéologie*, Paris, 1897, is misleading and valueless.

MSS.—Of these every library possesses a greater or smaller number, but not one has yet been studied thoroughly or even carefully described. We mention, in addition to those enumerated in art. BIRTH, the following in the possession of the present writer [some of them are copies made for him of MSS in other libraries]: 'Habdallah de R. Akiba', Cod. 336 (Oxford, 1331); 'Sefer Hanoeh' entirely different from the well-known Book of Enoch, Cod. 521 (Br. Mus. Add. 15,299); 'Sefer ha-yashar' [attributed to the Geon Samuel of Babylon], Cod. 334 (Oxford Cod. 1980); Cod. 88: 'Ets hada'ath of Eleha of Ancona, 1536; Cod. 213: Hebrew and Arabic charms (Yemen, 16th cent.); Cod. 214: amulets (Yemen, 16th or 17th cent.); Cod. 232: amulets (orient. Spanish hand, 19th cent.); Cod. 492: amulets, Heb. and Arab., from the Genizah, Cairo; Cod. 727: collection of conjurations, 16th-17th cent. (cf. Cod. 1299, Br. Mus. Add. 27,141 f., 891 ff., in which only a portion of these conjurations has been preserved by an Italian scribe of the 17th cent.); Cod. 720: a large collection of Kabbalistic amulets, 1647 (orient. Spanish hand [Galilee]; Cod. 765: 'Meqor ha-Shemot' (Spanish hand 19th cent.; an alphabetical list of all the mystical names of angels, with indication of the Biblical passages whence they have been derived); Cod. 1000: collections of conjurations and amulets (orient. Spanish writing; many hands, 15th-18th cent.); Cod. 1285: from the Genizah of Aleppo (17th cent.). There may be added reference to the writer's Cod. 995—very likely the 'Almadel' (or Clavicula) of Solomon (Morocco hand, 16th cent., with illustrations); Cod. 599 (Br. Mus. Or. 6380); and 'Sefer ha-Lebanah'—the last two being astrological compilations with directions for conjurations.

M. GASTER.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Mexican and Mayan).—As in other parts of America, the amulet was regarded in Mexico as a personal fetish. The wholesale manner in which everything pertaining to native worship or superstition was swept away by the Spanish Conquistadores renders a thorough knowledge of personal fetishism among the Nahua peoples impossible, but scanty notices in the writings of authors who lived in the generation immediately subsequent to the Conquest throw some light upon the description of charms and talismans in use among the Aztecs and kindred peoples. They appear to have been principally manufactured and sold by the priests of the various deities, in much the same manner as the medicine-men of the N. American tribes make and sell such articles. The use of charms was notable chiefly in connexion with the funerary customs of the Aztecs. On the death of a person, his corpse was dressed in the habiliments supposed to be worn by his tutelary deity, and was strewn with pieces of paper, which were regarded as charms against the dangers to be encountered on the road to Mictlan, the Mexican Hades. The papers in question contained written prayers or magical formulæ to ward off the dangerous spirits to be met on the way; and this is reminiscent of Egyptian funerary practice. From time immemorial the Nahua peoples made use of talismans of hard sand-polished stone, such as are still carried by the Indians of Central America. They were employed as oracles, and their possessors were supposed to see future events reflected in their polished surfaces, much in the same manner as modern crystal-gazers profess to discern events to come in the globes they consult. It has been thought that the principal god of the Aztecs, Tezcatlipoca, had his origin in the figure of death believed to be described in these stones before a demise took place. In the Dresden Codex the *pinturas* represent the deceased on the road to Mictlan as wearing a wooden collar, probably an amulet, to show that he belongs to one or other of the Nahua deities. For the same purpose, probably, he wears a plume on his head.

The principal objects which have either come down to us or are known to have served the purpose of personal or household talismans to the Nahua peoples are:—

(1) *Death-masks*.—These were probably the skulls of ancestors, and were kept in the houses of their descendants. They consist of two classes: one in which the skull of the deceased person has been inlaid with mosaic, and the other in which a conventional image of the deceased has been manufactured by inlaying mosaic upon jade. These death-masks are not to be confounded with the masks spoken of by many writers on Nahua custom as being used by the priests in religious ceremonial, or with those placed on the faces of the dead to ward off evil spirits. The mosaic work of which they are composed is often of very great beauty, and excellent examples of it are to be seen in the American Room at the British Museum. Specimens of such work are exceedingly rare, and are chiefly confined to those objects sent to Europe at a period immediately subsequent to the Conquest. Numerous small masks and heads which served as amulets have been discovered on the site of Mitla, the city of Mictlan, the god of the dead. Most of them are of terra-cotta, and of good workmanship.

(2) *The tepitoton, or diminutive deities*.—These were small figures of the Lares and Penates type, but not, as has been thought, of the class of the Egyptian *ushabtiu*, or servant figurines. They were probably relics of a shamanistic form of worship, and nearer to the ancestor-idol type than the little fire-and-food gods of the Romans, though they possibly partook of the characteristics of both. At the close of the great sun-cycle of fifty-two years, when the Nahua thought the universe was in danger of perishing, they broke those small figures in despair, believing they could no more seek aid from them.

(3) *Travellers' staves*.—These staves, decorated with feathers, were carried by all merchants whilst on a journey, and showed that they were under the protection of Quetzalcoatl, the culture-god of Mexico, or, as he has been more aptly named, 'Man of the Sun,' the great traveller. Sahagun (lib. i. cap. 5) gives an interesting account of the worship of these staves by the Mexican itinerant merchants. On coming to their evening halting-place they tied their staves in a bundle, and sprinkled them with blood taken from their ears, tongues, and arms. Incense was brought and burned before them, and food, flowers, and tobacco were offered to them. Although the name of the staff, *coatl*, means 'serpent,' it had, so far as its nomenclature was concerned, no connexion with the Sun-Man; and, indeed, when the staves were gathered together in a bundle, the name they collectively bore was *Yacatecutli*, the name of the patron of merchants or pedlars. Still, the staff was regarded as the invention of Quetzalcoatl, the culture-hero, and those using it practically placed themselves under his protection.

(4) *Amulets symbolic of the gods*.—These were probably numerous, but few are recorded. Chalchiuhtlicue, the goddess of water, was worshipped under the likeness of a frog, carved from a single emerald or piece of jade, or sometimes in human form, but holding in her hand a lily-leaf ornamented with frogs. In the Mayan codices it appears as a symbol of water and rain (Codex Cortesianus, pp. 12, 17, etc.). Images of it, cut from stone or made from clay, have been frequently discovered. They were kept by the post-Conquest Indians as talismans. The symbol or crest of Huitzilopochtli, the Aztec war-god, was, as is implied by his name, a humming-bird. This crest, the *huitziton*, was carried before his priests in battle, and it is probable that they and illustrious members of the warrior class wore the symbol as a talisman or decoration.

(5) *Flint talismans*.—As elsewhere, the thunder-

bolts thrown by the gods were supposed to be flint stones; and these were cherished as amulets of much virtue, and as symbols of the fecundating rains. The Navahos of New Mexico still use such stones as a charm for rain, and believe they fall from the clouds when it thunders (*Senate Report on the Indian Tribes*, Washington, 1867, p. 358). The Chotas of Mexico continued until comparatively recent times the worship of their triad—the Dawn, the Stone, and the Serpent (*Diccionario Universal*, App. tom. iii. p. 11).

(6) *Amulets depicted in the Mexican and Mayan 'pinturas' or native MSS*.—The Mexican and Mayan native MSS give representations of what are obviously ornaments and personal decorations of the nature of amulets in great profusion, but, owing to the careless drawing displayed in the Mexican *pinturas*, it is almost impossible to determine their exact nature. The highly conventional manner in which they are executed is also greatly against their elucidation. The comparative clearness of outline in the Mayan *pinturas* renders it much easier to speculate upon the nature of the objects represented therein. But it is only by induction that the character of these objects can be arrived at, the ruinous intolerance to which all native American *objets d'art* were subjected having long since destroyed their very names. It will be well, then, to glance at the Mayan MSS while we attempt to discover what were the amulets worn by the figures depicted in them. We find that these objects are usually worn by figures representing gods, but it is well known that the symbol or ornament of the god usually becomes the symbol or ornament of his special worshippers—the people of whom he is the tutelary deity. In Egypt the *ankh* (the cruciform symbol of life carried by all the gods) was worn very generally, as was the *uzat* (the symbolic eye of Horus, which protected the wearer from the evil eye, and against snake-bite), and the *thet*, the girdle-buckle of Isis. In early Scandinavia the raven-wings of Odin adorned the helmet of the warrior; and, not to multiply instances, which are numerous, we have already seen that the Aztecs wore amulets depicting the frog-shaped rain-goddess Chalchiuhtlicue. Hence there is no reason to suppose that the special worshippers of other Nahua deities did not wear amulets depicting either their tutelary deity or some ornament supposed to have been worn by himself, and, perhaps, representing one of his attributes, like the staff of Quetzalcoatl, or the humming-bird of Huitzilopochtli. An examination of the three Mayan MSS which we possess—those of Dresden, Madrid, and Paris—shows that most of the deities therein represented are accompanied by certain distinct and well-marked symbols, which, it would seem, frequently decorate the figures of priests and people in the same MSS. The head-dress of Schellhas's 'God E,' the maize-god, for example, appears as a frequent symbol worn by persons represented in the MSS, and it is obviously correct to make of him a counterpart of the Mexican maize-god Centeotl, the latter deity being sometimes female, sometimes male, according as he takes the part of mother or son. 'God F,' again, the god of war and human sacrifice, who, Schellhas thinks, resembles the Aztec god Xipe, but who, in the present writer's opinion, more nearly resembles the Aztec war-god Huitzilopochtli, because of his general appearance, sometimes wears an ear-peg of huge dimensions—a common ornament in many Mayan sculptures. As each god in the Mayan MSS is represented with his monthly sign, it is not unlikely that his immediate devotees would have worn these much in the same manner as persons in Europe wear amulet-rings in which are enclosed stones typifying

the months of the year. The neck ornament of the frog-god 'P' seems to occur, too, with some frequency in the figures depicted in the Madrid codex, and the same may be said of several other apparent amulets.

(7) *Amulets among modern cognate tribes.*—The Zuni of New Mexico, who are distantly related to the Nahuatl of Mexico, possess a peculiar belief concerning amulets or personal fetiches. They imagine, upon discovering a fossilized animal or other object, that they have met with great good fortune, and explain the fossilization of these objects by a myth which relates how the two Sun-children—two hero-gods of theirs—being displeased at the multiplicity of wild animals in early times, turned many of them into stone by striking them with lightning, at the same time giving them a magic power to assist the children of men. See 'American' section of this article, § 7.

LITERATURE.—B. Sahagun, *Historia de las Cosas de Nueva España*, Mexico, 1829-30; P. Schellhas, *Representations of Deities of the Maya Manuscripts*, Cambridge, Mass. 1904; D. G. Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, Philadelphia, 1863; E. J. Payne, *History of the New World called America*, Oxford, 1892-99; Marquis de Nadaillac, *L'Amérique préhistorique*, 1882 (Eng. tr. by N. D'Anvers, London, 1885).

LEWIS SPENCE.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Muhammadan).

—1. Historical and legendary sources.—In the so-called science of conjurations and talismans the Arabs show the same lack of originality as in the other sciences, e.g. Alchemy and Mechanics. They appropriated part of what had been already developed in this direction before their time, and did nothing beyond adding to existing formulæ a few invocations taken from the Qur'an. The sources from which they drew their knowledge of the art of talismans are, pre-eminently, Gnostic and Talmudic.

In their legends it is the prophets, Biblical and other, who are credited with the invention of charms. To begin with, they trace this invention back to the time of Adam himself, to whom, they say, this branch of knowledge was revealed; Adam's daughter 'Anāk was the first, according to the *Summary of Wonders* (Fr. tr. by Carra de Vaux, Paris, 1898, p. 142),

'to reduce the demons to serve her by means of charms. God had revealed to Adam certain names which the spirits were forced to obey, and had told him to communicate them to Eve, so that she might carry them about on her person as a protection. Adam obeyed, and Eve kept these names and was safeguarded by them; but, while she was asleep, 'Anāk took her by surprise and robbed her of them, and, by means of them, conjured evil spirits, practised the magical art, pronounced oracles, and gave herself up openly to impiety.'

Solomon also, according to Musalmān legend, was a great magician. He controlled the beasts and the winds, and had the genii as well as the demons under his command. The legend, which is of Talmudic origin (see Seligsohn, in *JE* xi. 440), is introduced into the Qur'an (xxvii.). The great king is seen reviewing an army composed of men, genii, and birds; talking with the ant; sending the hoopoe on an embassy to the Queen of Sheba; and making the throne of that princess be brought to him by means of an 'ifrit (kind of genie).

Solomon's ring is celebrated in Arabian tales. In the popular tale of the fisherman (*Thousand and One Nights*) the hero draws up in his net a copper vase with a lid of sealed lead; he breaks the seal, and a genie escapes from the vase. This was a proud spirit who had once rebelled against Solomon, and had been imprisoned by the prophet-king in this vase and sealed with his seal. Descriptions of this famous ring¹ are given in the legends; it is the typical talisman, on which was seen inscribed 'the greatest name of God.'

The Berbers also were considered by the Arabic story-tellers as having been highly skilled in the art of talismans. In the *Summary of Wonders*

¹ The talisman that is actually worn in the Arabic and Jewish world under the name of 'Solomon's seal' is the hexagonal star. See the figures in Schwab, 'Le Manuscrit 1830 du fonds hébreu de la Bibliothèque Nationale,' *Notices et extraits*, vol. xxxvi., and cf. Seligsohn, in *JE* xi. 448.

(p. 307) we find the queen of the Berbers contending against the Egyptians by means of talismans:

'The queen was the ablest magician among this people. Her subjects said to her, "Make talismans for us against the land of Egypt and its inhabitants." . . . Then she composed charms to enchant the Nile. She confided these to certain of her subjects, commanding them to take them to Egypt, and scatter them all over, and throw some of them into the Nile above this country. The men proceeded to the frontiers of Egypt, and to the most fertile places, and there they threw their talismans. Thereupon the people saw the Nile swell more quickly than they had foreseen. The rising exceeded all bounds, and the waters, remaining for a long time on the earth, spoilt all the crops. Crocodiles and frogs multiplied, and all sorts of epidemics attacked the inhabitants. Foxes and scorpions appeared from all directions.'

The priests of Egypt themselves were also skilled in the art of magic; but they were not clever enough to annihilate the power of the Berber talismans, and the country would have been lost, if king Mālik, who was then reigning, had not turned to the true God and embraced monotheism.¹

2. Arabic works on talismans.—Various Arabic authors have written about talismans, the way to construct them, their use, the processes necessary for conjuring demons, and the suitable formulæ in the incantations. Among these authors we may mention Majriti, Ibn-al-Wāshīya, and al-Būni.

The scholar Maslama al-Majriti († 1007), who was a native of Madrid, wrote on magic; he had travelled in the East, and brought back to Spain the writings of the 'Brethren of Purity.' The library in Vienna contains a book, under his name, entitled *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm* ('The Perfection of the Sage'), the aim of which is the construction of talismans.

The alchemist Ibn-al-Wāshīya (second half of the 3rd cent. A.H.), an Arabic forger, who is known chiefly by his book on *Nabatean Agriculture*, in which he unconsciously compares the ancient civilization of Babylon with the Arabic civilization, also wrote a treatise on the ancient alphabets of the various peoples, as well as a dissertation on the Egyptian priesthood, which was translated into English by J. Hammer, London, 1810.

The works of al-Būni are the best known as regards our present subject, and it is they that are used in our own day by dervishes and those who occupy themselves with talismans. They set out to explain the virtues of heavenly names, their use in talismans, the virtues of letters, etc. Muḥyi ad-Dīn Abū'l-Abbās al-Būni died in 1225. In the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris there are some amulets composed by al-Būni, and others attributed to the famous scholar Ghazālī.

Besides these books by well-known authors, there are in our libraries various treatises on charms ranged under very strange names, which are supposed to be Greek, Persian, or Indian. In Paris, e.g., there is a short treatise (Arab. no. 2630), very curious in point of angelology, which is attributed to Andahriush, or al-Dahriush,² of Babylon; another (no. 2634) is given under the name of the Hindu sorceress Cherasim, who cites among her sources a book by al-Ḍuḥās. In Budapest there are treatises by the Hindus Tomṭom and Chāmūr, the latter representing himself as a commentator on Plato.

3. Angelology.—The purpose of incantations is to conjure the spirits that preside over the life of Nature and of men. In order to subject the spirits to himself and force them to serve him, the magician must, first of all, know them and know their names. Hence arises a complete science of angelology. This science began to take shape among the Gnostics. Thus we are told by St. Irenæus (i. xxiv. 3) that Basilides gave names to the angels inhabiting the different heavens; and in the system of Valentinus the names of the Æons are given. They are bizarre words, probably derived from actual terms corrupted in transmission, perhaps by systematic processes of 'cryptogloss,' but now quite unintelligible to us; at one time Matter tried in vain to explain them. Other magic names used in Gnostic initiations are found in the *Pistis Sophia*. Among them we can distinguish the name of the Æon of Light. It is formed by a series of words, some of which are repeated two or three times, sometimes identically, sometimes with slight variations, to make doublets.

¹ According to Turkish tradition, the inventors of the art of magic were Adim, Sheddād, and certain legendary Egyptian or Persian princes. See one form of these traditions in d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire Ottoman*, Paris, 1787-1820, vol. i. p. 337.

² This is probably the same name as we find in Africa under the form al-Andhrūn. The bearer of this name was a magician-king, who is responsible for a kind of popular talisman in Africa (see Doutté, *Magie et religion*, p. 152).

It is this Gnostic tradition—which will be seen, on the other hand, to pass into the Kabbala—that was followed by the Arabian magicians. We shall take as our guide here the manuscript treatise of Andahriush mentioned above. The author adopts, in the first place, the four great Islāmicangels: Gabriel, Michael, Azrael, and Israfil. The names of these four great spirits often appear in talismans. According to the traditions of Islām, Gabriel, or Jibril, is set over the armies and the winds, and he also makes known the will of God to the Prophets; it was he who brought the Qur'an to Muhammad. Mikā'il (Michael) presides over rain and plants. 'Azrā'il is the angel of death; he seizes the souls of men when their 'hour' is come. Israfil rules over these three archangels. He stands beside the throne of God, and guards the heavenly trumpet. The others receive their orders from God at his hands.²

But these four spirits, notwithstanding their importance in theological and popular tradition, seem to have somewhat lost their position in the occult theory of Andahriush, with which they do not harmonize very well. According to this theory, there are seven great angels by the throne of God, who have names inscribed on their foreheads, hands, and feet; the knowledge of these names gives great power in conjurations. The seven planets also have their angels, who appear to be quite distinct from the former seven. 'Atāfil is master of the power and light of the Sun. Biṭā'il presides over the fires of Venus. Chamkhā'il is the angel of the sphere of Saturn. Metāṭron is assigned sometimes to Jupiter and sometimes to Mercury, although he also appears independently, and is identified with the archangel Michael. Metāṭron is of considerable importance in the *Zohar*, where he practically assumes the rôle of Demiurge.

The treatise of Andahriush gives names of angels for every day of the week. There are seven for each day. They are called 'yfrīt, a name frequently used in the *Thousand and One Nights*, and also employed as a proper name in the Qur'an. In other parts of the treatise we can distinguish fragments of a different nomenclature, in which the angels were distributed according to the days of the month.

The seven 'yfrīt of the day and night of the Sabbath are called Yashenkūr, Shaushahr, 'Anjelūsh, Kalūsh, Balūsh, Madhūsh, and Sherdūsh. The seven 'yfrīt of Sunday are called Hendūsh, Bārīk, Shefā, Markūsh, 'Arđūsh, Alish, and Sā'ik.

These strange names are sometimes, as in the time of Gnosticism, formed in doublets, in the same way as Gog and Magog in Biblical literature, and Yājūj and Mājūj, Hārūt and Mārūt in Arabic. Thus we find the following terms employed to invoke great spirits: Talīkh and Ilīkh; Hib and Hoyūb; Kaifar and Maifar; Kintash and Yākinash. See also the incantation of the scorpion given below.

In order to be an absolute master of the art of magic, it was necessary to know all these names, and the connexion of the spirits bearing them with different times and different objects. Next it was necessary to write suitable formulæ containing these names on appropriate material—silver, porcelain or silk—which was then sprinkled with the perfumes required in each case. Then the amulet had to be worn on a specified part of the body. In practice, however, it was very difficult to possess a special talisman for every individual case, and the people contented themselves with talismans having the general virtue of protection from all ills, or at least from a large category of ills; and the greater part of this science of angelology remained a dead letter.

4. The names of God.—A verse of the Qur'an (vii. 179) says: 'God's are the most excellent names; call on Him then thereby, and leave those who pervert His names.' The commentators have given lists of these names, which are, in their opinion, adjectives such as: the Great, the Good, the Merciful, the Learned, the Wise, the Subtle, the Beneficent, the Manifest, etc. Tradition has it that there are 99 such names. Pious Musalmāns recite them on their rosaries, and the mystics meditate on the qualities expressed in them; Ghazālī, e.g., wrote a treatise entitled 'The Most Excellent Names.'³ These terms are employed in talismans; but 'the greatest name' of God—that name which possesses absolute magical virtue—is unknown to men. At the utmost it has been revealed only to prophets and saints. It is an ineffable name. This

¹ See S. Karpe, *Étude sur les origines et la nature du Zohar*, Paris, 1901, p. 79, and *passim*.

² Cf. the present writer's art. 'Fragmente d'eschatologie musulmane,' in *Comptes Rendus du 5^{me} congrès intern. scient. des Catholiques*, 2^{me} section, 1895, p. 12; d'Ohason, *loc. cit.* vol. i. p. 431.

³ Tirmidhi, Ibn Māja, and others have given lists of these names. Tables of figures are also formed, representing the numerical value of their letters. For a poetic version of the theme, cf. Sir Edwin Arnold's *Pearls of the Faith*, London, 1883.

idea of a name of God that cannot be spoken or heard by men is clearly connected with the Jewish custom of declining to pronounce the name of JHWH, when reading the Torah, and substituting for it *Adonai* or some epithet.

5. Various mythical beings.—The composers of Musalmān talismans employ the names of several other legendary personalities besides the names of angels. Those most commonly used are the Seven Sleepers and their dog; the angels Hārūt and Mārūt; and the collective beings, Gog and Magog.

The well-known legend of the Seven Sleepers belongs to several literatures, being found among Christians, among Jews, and among Musalmāns. The Qur'an alludes to it in plain terms, and calls the Sleepers 'the Companions of the Cave,' while one *sūra* (xviii.) is entitled 'The Cave.' Mention is also made, it is said, in this passage, of the dog that accompanied the seven young men (verse 8: 'Hast thou reckoned that the Companions of the Cave and ar-Raqim were a wonder among our signs?'). In the opinion of certain commentators, this *ar-Raqim* is the name of the dog, but others think that the word designates an inscribed tablet, in accordance with the sense of the root *raqama*, 'to trace figures.'¹ The young men had fled from the persecution of Decius, and had taken refuge in a cave. Here they fell asleep, and did not awake again till two centuries later, in the reign of Theodosius the Younger. Their cave was situated either on the sea-shore near Ephesus, or beside Qurrah, where the cave of Kharemi is found (Mas'ūdi, *The Book of Warnings* [Arab.], Fr. tr. by Carra de Vaux, Paris, 1898, p. 202; J. Koch, *Die Siebenschläferlegende, ihr Ursprung und ihre Verbreitung*, Leipzig, 1883).

Hārūt and Mārūt are mentioned in the Qur'an (ii. 96): 'It was not Solomon who misbelieved, but the devil who misbelieved, teaching men sorcery, and what had been revealed to the two angels at Babylon, Hārūt and Mārūt; yet these taught no one until they said, "We are but a temptation, so do not misbelieve," . . . but they can harm no one therewith, unless with the permission of God.' These mythical beings belong to Talmudic tradition (cf. Hirsch, in *JE* v. 333). They were—so says an Arabian story-teller—two angels who, at the beginning of the world, had jeered at the weakness of faithless man, declaring that, if they had been put to the same test, they would not have been overcome. God allowed them to try the experiment, and they at once fell into sin. Then, having asked as a favour to undergo their punishment in this world, they were thrown into a pit near Babylon, where they were bound with their heads bent down, and where they must remain until the end of time² (Kazwini, *Kosmographie*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 1848, i. 81).

Gog and Magog (Yājūj and Mājūj) are mentioned in the Qur'an (xviii. 93-99, xxi. 96). They were peoples of the North, who occupied vast territory and made incursions into the country of the South, spreading devastation everywhere in their course. Alexander stopped their progress by a wall of brass, which they are to overturn at the Last Day. This wall is located by some near the Caspian, by others in China. The historian Ibn Khorbadbeh tells of a journey that the interpreter Sallām made there at the command of the Khalīf Wāṭik (*Ibn Khorbadbeh*, tr. de Goetje, p. 124, note; cf. Kazwini, *op. cit.* ii. 400, 418; for a general summary, see Montgomery, in *JE* vi. 20).

6. Cabalistic letters.—In books of magic and in talismans, cryptographic alphabets of various forms are used. The majority of these alphabets, it appears, are not purely imaginary. We may recognize in their characters signs of the Hebrew or of the Cufic alphabet, somewhat deformed and altered by the addition of ornamentations. The author Ibn-al-Wahshiya, whom we have mentioned above, gives a great number of cabalistic alphabets in his book, *Kitāb shawḥ al-mustahām* (see a notice by Gottheil on 'The Cabalistic Alphabets,' in *JA*, 1907). The twists or flourishes which often finish off the strokes in the magical writing are called 'lunettes' or 'crowns.' It is said in *Sepher Yesira* (tr. Mayer Lambert, p. 114) that every letter should have its crown, and that ancient amulet-makers thought the letters of no use whatever without their crowns.

The custom of using cryptographic alphabets among the Arabs was not confined to occultists. It appears even among scholars (see the alphabet in the mechanical manuscript of Oxford, which contains the Arabic text of the *Pneumatics* of Philo [no. 954; Marsh, 669; fol. 29]).

The theory of the power of letters had been

¹ In Arabic tradition the dog's name is Kitmir.

² In Turkish tradition Hārūt and Mārūt are called Mahle and Mehale, and are regarded as two famous magicians. On Hārūt and Mārūt, see also art. ARMENIA (*Zor.*) vol. i. p. 796^a.

sketched out in the time of Gnosticism (see, e.g., a treatise on the 'Mysteries of the Letters of the Alphabet,' quoted by Amélineau, *Gnosticisme égyptien*, Paris, 1866, p. 11). This theory was afterwards largely developed in the Kabbala. On this subject the *Zohar*, which belongs to the 14th cent., may be consulted. The Arabs do not appear to have made any very original use of it.

7. Magic squares.—The so-called magic squares are employed to a great extent in Musalmān magic. The false art of talismans may be said to pay homage here to real science, the construction of magic squares being a nice and intricate question of arithmetic. This method of arranging numbers was known to the Arabs as early as the 10th cent. A.D., for it is evident from the writings of the 'Brethren of Purity' that they knew the squares of 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, and 9 parallel columns. The historian Ibn Khaldūn was also acquainted with some of these squares. They do not appear in Greek literature till later, the earliest text where mention of them is found being the treatise of Moschopoulos devoted to them, which dates from the end of the 14th century.¹

The Arabic manuscript 2,662, Paris, contains quite a number of magic squares of different appearance, but these are really nothing but the squares with 3 and 4 compartments in a row. The 9 or 16 consecutive figures employed in them do not start at unity, but begin with some higher number. One set, for instance, goes from 9 to 24, another from 10 to 25, and so on. They give the totals, each row, vertical or diagonal, of: 66, 70, 91, 131, 170, 258, 298, and 340. We give here the square constructed on the numbers from 9 to 24:

16	19	22	9
21	10	15	20
11	24	17	14
18	13	12	23

The total got by adding the figures vertically, horizontally, and diagonally is always 66.

Squares with 3 compartments in a row are not nearly so frequent in this treatise as those with four compartments. Here is one beginning with the number 1210:

1213	1218	1211
1212	1214	1216
1217	1210	1215

The constant total is 3642.

Sometimes talismanic squares have letters instead of numbers. Thus a square with 4 compartments in a row is made up of 4 letters which all occur in every row, in every column, and in every diagonal. Squares of this kind have no further scientific interest.

l	l	h	a
h	a	l	l
a	h	l	l
l	l	a	h

The square formed by the first nine numbers appears in the Jewish liturgy of Ibn Ezra, who did much to develop the kabbala of numbers connected with that of letters (S. Karppe, *op. cit.* p. 202).

¹ Paul Tannery, *Le traité manuel de Moschopoulos sur les carrés magiques*, Gr. text and tr., Paris, 1886; S. Günther, *Vermischte Untersuchungen zur Gesch. der mathemat. Wissenschaften*, Leipzig, 1876, ch. iv.; Cantor, *Vorlesungen über Gesch. der Mathematik*, Leipzig, 1880-93, vol. i.

8. Signs from astrology and geomancy.—Among the signs to be met with on amulets are also those belonging to astrology—viz. the signs of the planets and those of the zodiac—and sometimes those belonging to geomancy.

Geomancy, or the science 'of the sand,' *'ilm ar-raml*, is a process of divination by means of dots traced in sand.¹ Dots are made haphazard, with the fingers or a rod, along four lines marked on the sand, or else dots are made at regular intervals along these lines, and a certain number of them are obliterated haphazard. The remaining dots, grouped vertically, form figures to which various significations are attributed. Those that express lucky ideas may be used in talismans. There are Arabic treatises on geomancy in existence, and this process of divination is still in vogue among the Musalmāns of North Africa, although nowadays they do not trace the dots on the sand, but on tablets.

9. Human figures; animals; the hand.—Islāmic law forbids the representation of the human figure. This law was carefully observed in Arabia, but was rejected in Persia, and was little regarded by the Turkish dynasties that had recourse to Persian artists. The talismans of North Africa show scarcely any figures, but great numbers are found on magical objects, mirrors, cups, seals, etc., made in Persia, or made for princes who were lovers of Persian art.

These figures may be those of angels, sometimes in the form of griffins with human heads (as, e.g., in a mirror with a Cufic inscription in the collection of the Duc de Blacas),² or of persons and animals representing the signs of the zodiac, for instance, or various other fancies. Reinaud mentions an Egyptian talismanic plate on which a man is seen drawing something out of a well. If we connect this with what Ibn Khaldūn says, this talisman must have been meant as a guide to finding treasure. The Arabic MS 2764, Paris, intersperses rude figures of men and animals among its cabalistic characters.

Among the most popular objects credited with magical virtue in the Musalmān world is the human hand, which is seen engraved on medallions, or employed separately as a pendant or jewel. At the feast of Ashūra, the Persians carry flags with their staffs surmounted by an open hand. On African soil the special use of this emblem is to ward off the evil eye, like horns of coral in South Italy. Shi'ite Musalmāns see in the five fingers of the hand the image of the five most sacred persons of their sect: Muhammad, 'Alī, Fāṭima (daughter of Muhammad and wife of 'Alī), and Ḥasan and Ḥusain ('Alī's two sons).

10. Verses of the Qur'ān.—Although this use of the sacred text is not at all in harmony with the spirit of pure Muhammadan teaching, nevertheless Musalmān peoples freely employ certain verses of the Qur'ān as amulets. The favourite verses are those contained in the two short *sūras* of the 'Daybreak' and of 'Men' (cxiii. and cxiv.), and the verse 'On the throne' (ii. 256). The two short chapters we have just mentioned are called 'the two preservatives' (*al-muawwidatāin*). They are so short that we may quote them:

'Say, "I seek refuge in the Lord of the daybreak, from the hurt of what He has created; and from the hurt of the night when it cometh on; and from the hurt of the wicked women (witches) who blow upon knots; and from the hurt of the envious when he envies."'

This one is supposed to have special power against the ills of the body, and the following against the ills of the soul:

¹ See an example taken from a Gnostic talisman published in the *REG*, vol. xx. (1907), p. 378, 'Talismans magiques trouvés dans l'île de Thasos, by W. Deonna.

² This figure is reproduced in the *Magasin pittoresque*, 1872, p. 64. Cf. others in the same volume, p. 272.

'Say, "I seek refuge in the Lord of men, the King of men, the God of men, from the hurt of the whisperer, who slinks off, who whispers evil into the hearts of men—from *jinn* and from men!"'

The verse 'On the throne' tells of the greatness of God, and al-Būnī composed a whole treatise on the excellence of this verse.

The *sūra Yā Sim* (xxxvi.) is also held in great veneration by pious Musalmāns, and extracts from this chapter are engraved on the cups that dervishes carry. In addition to this, numerous passages of the Qur'ān are employed in various circumstances. There are treatises that tell which extracts suit each occasion (see the Arabic MS 1219, Paris, which is of this kind). The verses most usually worn are those containing the word *hifz*, 'guard,' which are called *ayāt al-hifz*, 'preservative verses,' and the verses called *kawār*, which contain a malediction against Satan (see Ishmael Hamet, art. 'Amulettes en Algérie,' in *Bulletin des séances de la société philologique*, 1905).

In cases of illness, it was the popular custom until quite recently, in Musalmān countries, and especially in Africa, to have recourse to the texts of the Qur'ān. The verse appropriate to the case was inscribed on bone, paper, or parchment, and a decoction of this was made in water, which the patient had to drink.

11. Use and form of talismans.—The name 'talisman' (*ṭilsam*, pl. *ṭalāsīm*) is a literary word in Arabic. Amulets are more usually called *hīrz* or *horiz* in Algeria; *ḥamaye* or *ḥāḥiz*, 'udzah or *ma'adzah*, in the Arabian countries of the East; *yafta*, *nūshka*, or *hamail* in Turkey. They are generally made by people of a religious order, e.g. members of a brotherhood, shaiḥs, or dervishes, who declare that they have no value unless they are received from their own hands. This gift brings them in return payments in money, goods, and commodities of every kind. Talismans are enclosed in square or circular purses or sachets of morocco, which are kept constantly on the person. The Turks carry them on their arms or under their turban, or sometimes hung round their neck under their jacket. The Bedawīn wear them quite openly hung round their neck above their clothing. Among the wealthier classes, they are enclosed in lockets, or engraved on plates of gold or silver, which are hung round the neck on chains of the same material. Fashionable young Bedawīn have several rows of them, making rich necklaces. An amulet that is very highly prized by young Bedawī girls is the *hīrz*. This is a little religious book 7 cm. long by 4 or 5 cm. broad, which is enclosed in a case of gold or silver, and worn like a locket. Children are provided with amulets when they are only forty days old. These are sometimes very trivial objects—a simple shell or a piece of bone, placed in a leather case under the left arm. Amulets are also put on animals, especially horses (Ishmael Hamet, *op. cit.*; Emily Ruete, *Mémoires d'une princesse arabe*, 1905, p. 64; d'Ohsen, *op. cit.* v. 681).

The amulets are sometimes jewels of great value. Fine specimens of these may be seen in Reinaud's work on the materials of the Duc de Blacas's Collection. Drawings of less artistic amulets, which are, nevertheless, interesting for their composition and text, may be seen in Doutté's *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*.

Some years ago the present writer had an amulet prepared by a dervish of Constantinople. It was a long strip of paper on which were drawn, from the top downwards, seven magic squares. Above each square, as if for a title, was the name of a chapter of the Qur'ān. Round about the squares were the names of the four great angels, and in the angles these words: 'His word is truth, and power is His.' The following conjuration appeared below the squares: 'In the name of the merciful and compassionate God, I conjure you and I swear, O tribe of holy spirits, celestial and infernal, by the truth of your amir

and your chief Sheldiūshi, Malkiūshi, Kahij, Mahij, Aḥbaot, al-Shaddai, Metāṭron.'

Among the uncivilized peoples of Muhammadan Africa, the science of talismans blends with fetishism, and the amulet is confused with the *gri-gri*.

12. Methods of incantation.—Arabian magic is not confined to the composition and wearing of talismans. It also includes a complete science of incantations, composed of formulæ according to fixed methods. This science is prohibited by Muhammadan theology, and those who devote themselves to it commit an act of impiety. The prophet condemns sorcery in a verse in which, it is true, he mentions only the consultation of fate by arrows,—a method practised by the pagan Bedawīn at the sanctuary of Mecca,—but the meaning of this verse can easily be made general:

'O true believers, verily, wine, and *al-māisar* [game of chance], and [the worship of] statues, and divining (arrows) are only an abomination of Satan's work; avoid them then that haply ye may prosper' (Qur'ān, v. 92).

Similarly, we may notice the invocation against witches in the *sūra* of the 'Daybreak' quoted above (cxiii. 4).

Notwithstanding these prohibitions on the part of orthodox theology, the Bedawī magicians have written treatises on witchcraft, in which the aim of the practices indicated is usually of evil intention; in a great many cases, it is a question of bringing an enemy into one's power, of making him die, or at least of harming him. Among these practices we find that special form of spell called by the French 'envoûtement,' which is so celebrated in the history of magic throughout the world. Sometimes the aim of the incantation is the satisfaction of love.

The Arabic MS 2662, Paris, edited in accordance with the tradition of al-Būnī, gives numerous incantations applicable to all sorts of cases. We may now quote some of them.

If you want to send a scorpion to an enemy, you take the animal, shut it up in a glass to avoid being stung, and, while naming the person whom you want to harm, pronounce the following conjuration over it seven times: 'Aryūsh, Sharhūsh; He is a God so great that there is none beside Him. Barjīmā, Maljīmā, Azriān (*bis*). Understand and hearken to what I say, O scorpion born of a scorpion; otherwise will I give the fire power over thee. Tārūsh, Nākhūsh, Lāhūsh, Bamkhūsh, Darḳianūsh, . . . by the glory of God and the light of His countenance, go to so-and-so and sting him in such-and-such a spot.' Then you let the scorpion go, and it makes straight (so they believe) for the person mentioned.

There is a conjuration of the shadow which is curious. A man conjures his own shadow, speaks to it as to a spirit, and prays it to give him power over his enemy. To do this, he must stay up the whole night on a Sunday or a Wednesday. When all noises have ceased, and every one is asleep, he stands all alone in an empty house. He has a lit candle which he lays down towards the West. He stands in front of the candle and faces the East; then he sees his shadow on the wall. He recites a long invocation to his shadow—an invocation given in the book—and burns incense. At the end of the conjuration, he prays his shadow to bring harm to his enemy, and, while uttering this prayer, he thinks over all the ill he would like to befall the person whom he hates.

'Envoûtement' is practised by means of a leaf of paper on which a human figure is drawn. On this figure they write the name of the person they wish to injure. Then they nail it on the wall head downwards, and recite verses of the Qur'ān (ixxii. 1-4, xlvi. 31, which, however, contain nothing in any way related to such practices). They then take an iron needle, make it red-hot, and stab the figure through the heart with it, saying: 'Take his sleep from him, and enter his body as this needle enters this image.' The enchanted person is bound to fall ill and remain so as long as the needle is left in the figure.

The 'envoûtement' must have been known at the very birth of Muhammadanism. A tradition says that Muhammad was enchanted by the daughters of the Jew Lubaid; they made a little wax figure of the prophet and pierced it with a great number of needles.

Finally, conjuration for the purpose of gaining the regard of a loved one is performed by means of a dove. A wild turtle-dove is taken and kept prisoner for a Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday; then on Friday, at the hour of Venus, a thin leaf is taken, and on it is written with a bodkin perfumed with musk and saffron: 'As this dove sighs for her mate, so may such-and-such a one sigh for so-and-so and desire him with the desire of love!' Then the leaf is tied to a thread, which is fixed to the dove's wing, during a long invocation. All the ardour of the passion one longs to see in the loved one must be described.

Then the bird is tapped on the head with a little stone—to make the charm penetrate into the person it is directed against—and set free.

LITERATURE.—See the authorities quoted throughout the article and in the notes, the two most important books being: Reinand, *Monuments arabes, persans, et turcs du cabinet du duc de Blacas et d'autres cabinets*, 2 vols., Paris, 1828; E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers, 1909. While profiting from the copious information contained in the latter volume, we are not to be taken as accepting the theory of its author, according to which religion had its origin in magic (p. 341, and *passim*).

BON. CARRA DE VAUX.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Roman).—It was a belief among the Romans, as among all primitive peoples (Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, ii. [Leipzig, 1905] 2, 202 ff.), that many substances were endowed with supernatural virtue, and that this virtue might be brought under the control of any one possessed of the requisite occult knowledge. To this end the adept had recourse to magic, and his usual method was to bring the given substance under the influence of other forces, likewise of a magical, non-material kind. One of these was the spoken word, especially in rhythmical form. It was a Roman belief that the farmer might by a magic spell transfer his neighbour's corn to his own fields, and accordingly the XII Tables impose a penalty upon any one 'qui fruges excantassit' (Bruns-Gradenwitz, *Fontes iuris Romani*⁷, 1909, p. 30). Here we have the origin of the magic formula (see art. MAGIC). A like virtue was supposed to reside in the human action; thus, a woollen thread in which knots have been tied will cure disease (Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 48). Here we have a typical example of the magic action (see art. MAGIC). The practice was to treat some amorphous material in such a way as to give it a form resembling a particular object or person; for, according to primitive belief, the original and its artificial semblance were identical, so that the one could be made by magic to suffer and to act in the same way as the other.

The magical virtues of the substances referred to were brought into requisition with a view to acquiring all that was deemed desirable—such things as wealth, beauty, riches, power, and love. If a man still lacked these gifts, he tried to force the hand of fortune, either negatively, by driving away existent evils (expulsive magic); or positively, by conjuring to himself the goods he lacked (beneficent magic). If, on the other hand, the objects of general desire were already his, the magically endowed substances became serviceable as a means of saving these from diminution. In the latter case the function of the substances in question was not so much to obtain benefit as to avert such evils as might threaten the possessor (prophylactic magic by means of amulets). Amongst these evils those due to the magical operations of one's fellow-men were special objects of dread. For, of course, a man may desire not only to benefit himself, but also to injure those who stand in his way, and may therefore seek to bring disease or death upon them. It was, in fact, against such maleficent magic that amulets were mainly used.

While such potent substances were used as amulets in various kinds of magic, it should be observed that no particular substance had its action limited to one single category of the occult art. On the contrary, most of the available substances were endowed with a many-sided efficacy. That which dislodged an existent evil would also act prophylactically against an apprehended evil; pursue, for instance, not only removed pain in the uvula, but could be used as an amulet to prevent headache (Pliny, *HN* xx. 215), while a substance which was efficacious in maleficent magic would also undo the mischief worked

thereby (cf. in the 'Greek' section of this article the formula δ $\tau\rho\omega\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\lambda\alpha\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$; also O. Jahn, 'Über den Aberglauben des bösen Blicks bei den Alten,' *Ber. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1855, p. 61); and that which warded off disaster would also bring prosperity, as, e.g., the mora fish, which both prevented premature birth and attracted gold (Pliny, *HN* xxxii. 6, ix. 80). Hence, when we come to treat of the various substances employed, we shall be unable to draw a rigid line between 'charm' and 'amulet.' If we speak more of amulets than of charms, that is because, as the liability to misfortune and danger was universal, negative (or prophylactic) magic was resorted to by nearly every one, while relatively few advanced to the practice of positive (or beneficent) magic.

We appear to be well informed regarding the substances to which the Romans ascribed magical powers and which they used for magical purposes. A vast number of such objects, particularly of amulets, have been found in Italy (cf. Gius. Bellucci, *Amuleti ital. ant. e contemp.*, Perugia, 1900, and *Il feticismo primitivo in Italia*, Perugia, 1907), and they are frequently referred to by ancient authors, e.g., by writers in prose such as Pliny (*HN*) and the *Scriptores rei rusticae*, and by physicians like Marcellus Empiricus, while poets of the time of Augustus and his successors furnish numerous descriptions of magical proceedings. Only a very few of these discoveries and references, however, give any indication as to whether the superstitions attaching to the articles concerned were indigenous to the Roman people, or whether they were imported from exotic modes of thought. Again and again Rome felt the powerful influence of foreign civilizations; the neighbouring nations (especially the Etruscans), the Greeks, and eventually the peoples of the Orient, successively transmitted certain elements of their magic to Latium; and Roman writers speak of this imported magic just as if it were a native product. Thus Virgil (*Eclog.* viii. 80) tells of a love-spell performed with wax; but this is simply taken from Theocritus (ii. 28). Accordingly it is in most cases impossible to decide whether a particular charm was a thing of immemorial practice amongst the Romans, or a later importation. It is probable that primitive forms of all the principal varieties of magic were to be found in Latium from the outset, and that these subsequently coalesced with more highly developed types of foreign origin. In any case, this later stage of Roman magic is all we have to proceed upon; and, moreover, it is permeated by the leaven of Greek magic to such a degree that it seems hardly more than a mere offshoot thereof. To Roman magic accordingly applies almost everything that has been said in the 'Greek' section of this article. In what follows we give only such selected instances as are shown by some particular feature to have taken firm root in Rome, or, at all events, to have been practised by Romans. These instances are but few, and, few as they are, not always certain.

As an example of beneficent magic we have some information regarding a kind of rain-charm, performed by means of the *lapis manalis* (Festus, ed. Müller, p. 128). We have a more precise knowledge of the love-spell (O. Hirschfeld, *De incantamentis atque devincionibus amatoris apud Graecos Romanosque*, Königsberg, 1863; R. Dedo, *De antiquorum superstitione amatoria*, Greifswald, 1904; L. Fahz, 'De poetarum Romanorum doctrina magica,' *Religionsgeschichtliche Vers. und Vorarb.* vol. ii. pt. iii. [1904]). But the Roman accounts of the actual charms employed are almost entirely dependent upon Greek sources.

Moreover, the love-spell is not a genuine example of beneficent magic. In order to arouse love in one who was meanwhile indifferent, he was subjected to internal pains till such time as he yielded to the wishes of the person in whose name the spell was cast. The torment thus involved in the love-spell seems rather to place the latter in the category of maleficent magic. An evidence of its being practised in Rome is found in the word *venenum*, 'poison,' which is connected with the name *Venus* (F. Skutsch, *De nominibus latinis suffixi -no ope formati*, Breslau, 1890, p. 9), and originally meant 'love-potion.' It was of such a *φάρμακον* that Lucullus is said to have died (Plutarch, *Lucullus*, xliii.).

The simplest form of maleficent magic was the evil eye (S. Seligmann, *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes*, Berlin, 1910). Even without accessories this could work injury to health and property (Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. 'Malocchio'; Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. 'Fascinum'). Tacitus, *Annal.* ii. 69, dealing with the death of Germanicus, is the classical passage for a more elaborate malignant spell performed with all the requisite materials:

'Reperiebantur solo ac parietibus crutae humanorum corporum reliquiae, carmina et devotiones et nomen Germanici plumbeis tabulis insculptum semusti cineres ac tabo oblitii aliaque maleficia, quis creditur animas numinibus infernis sacari.'

The principal appliances of this kind of magic were the well-known *tabellae plumbeae*, and such tablets, inscribed with menaces directed against all that the object of the spell counted dear, have been discovered in large numbers (A. Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae quotquot innotuerunt*, Paris, 1904). Even this practice, however, was not native to the soil, but was borrowed from the Greeks as late as the 1st cent. B.C. (*Rhein. Mus.* lv. [1900] p. 271).

In cases where a man was suffering harm in person or property, he resorted to exorcism as a means of expelling the injurious thing. In most instances the evil took the form of a disease, and it was no uncommon thing to attack it by magical remedies. This was, in fact, the function of *medicina popularis* (see art. DISEASE AND MEDICINE), regarding which we are specially well informed by Pliny (*HN*; cf. e.g. xxviii. 47 ff.). We are not sure, indeed, whether or not Pliny availed himself of Greek sources, but we find a reference to a native remedy in Cato, *de Agri Cult.* 160, where it is said that a dislocation can be cured by binding upon the injured place a reed that has been blessed with a magic formula.

As the unknown perils to which a man was exposed were manifold, he did not wait till the blow had actually fallen, but sought to safeguard himself beforehand by making use of such articles as had a recognized protective virtue; and in this way the object utilized in the practice of exorcism became an *amulet*. The prevalence of this form of magic amongst the Romans is reflected in the number of terms signifying 'amulet' found in their language from the very infancy of their literature. One of these is *fascinum*, connected either with Latin *fari*, 'to cast a spell,' or with Gr. *φάσκαρος* (A. Walde, *Etymol. Wörterb.*, p. 209). The derivatives of *fascinum*, viz. *fascinare* (Catull. vii. 12: 'mala fascinare lingua'), and *fascinatio* (Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 35: '[saliva] fascinationes reperiuntur'; xxviii. 101: '[hyaenae] frontis corium fascinationibus resistere'), show that at one time the word meant 'a malignant spell'; and, as a matter of fact, it was in the main applied to the baneful action of the evil eye (Virgil, *Eclog.* iii. 103: 'oculus mihi fascinat agnos'; cf. Jahn, *op. cit.* p. 70 ff.). The actual *fascinum* was nearly always an amulet, and in most cases took the figure of the phallus, which, it was believed,

would by its very impropriety avert the evil eye, or even render it innocuous by the beneficent influence of the reproductive principle. A *fascinum* hung round the neck was worn as an amulet by boys (Plautus, *Miles*, 1398 f.: 'quasi puero in collo pendeant crepundia'); and when the conqueror made his triumphal entry into the capital—the occasion on which he might well dread the malign glance of envy—a *fascinum* was tied to his chariot (Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 39). The soil of Italy has also yielded numerous *fascinae* in stone and metal, which may have been either worn upon the person, or built into tombs, houses, city-walls, etc., as a means of protection (Jahn, *op. cit.* p. 73 ff.). In the same sense was used the word *muttonium* (derived from *mutto*), which also means 'phallus' (Usener, *Götternamen*, 1896, p. 327): the scholia render it by *πίος* or *προβάσκάνιον* (*Corp. Gloss. Lat.* ii. 131, iii. 351). The word *scaevola* likewise, according to F. Marx (*Lucilii rel.* i. p. xlv—a reference suggested to the writer by L. Deubner), seems originally to have denoted an amulet in the form of a phallus.

The child's *crepundia*, however, embraced more than the phallus. The word *crepundia* comes from *crepere*, 'to rattle' (Walde, *op. cit.* p. 150), and was originally applied to the small metal rattle which served not only to amuse the child, but also to protect him from demonic influence, as it was supposed that evil spirits were afraid of the jingling of metals, especially of bronze (A. B. Cook, *JHS* xxii. [1902] p. 14 ff.); gold and silver, however, were also efficacious. Plautus (*Rudens*, 1156 ff.) enumerates the *crepundia* of a girl as follows: a golden sword, a silver knife, two hands clasped together, and a miniature pig (the material of the last two is not specified); finally (1171), 'bullae aureae est, pater quam dedit mi natali die.' The statue of a boy in the Vatican Museum (Daremberg-Saglio, fig. 301) shows upon the shoulder a strap embossed with a whole series of such prophylactic figures, while an ornament of similar character is preserved in Vienna (*ib.* fig. 2066). The idea of warding off evil, in fact, came to be so closely associated with *crepundia* that the word was at length used to denote, not a child's rattle only, but an amulet of any kind (Apuleius, *Apologia*, 56).

The origin of many of these pendants is probably to be sought in Greece and Etruria. Plautus, in the passage quoted above, is translating from a Greek comedy, while the *bullae* mentioned by him is regarded by all investigators as Etruscan (see art. in Daremberg-Saglio and Pauly-Wissowa). The word itself is Latin, and means 'water-bubble' (*bullire*, 'to boil up'), and then any object of like form (Isidore, *Origines*, xix. 3, 11). In most cases the *bullae* used as amulets were of gold; many of them took the form of a heart—as the seat of life—or of the moon, to which great magical virtue was ascribed (Pauly-Wissowa, i. 39 f., s.v. 'Aberglaube'). The usual form, however, was that of a bubble or convex disk, and there was perhaps some mental association between such a golden *bullae* and the sun as the source of life. *Bullae* of this kind were worn by Etruscan youths (Daremberg-Saglio, fig. 892), women (*ib.* fig. 893), and demons (*Archäol. Zeitung*, 1846, plate 47, at the foot), on a strap round the neck, as also by the Etruscan kings (Festus, ed. Müller, p. 322). In all probability, therefore, the Roman practice was borrowed from the Etruscans. The general himself wore the golden *bullae* on the day of a triumph (Macrobius, *Saturnal.* i. 6, 9), but with this exception it was worn mainly by boys of distinguished birth (Festus, p. 36), those of humbler origin having to be content with a makeshift ('lorum in collo,' Macrobius, i. 6, 14), while the

bullæ of a girl is but seldom referred to (cf. the passage quoted above, Plautus, *Rudens*, 1171). It may well be the case that the simple leather strap (*lorum*) of the humbler ranks was at one time universally worn by the Roman youth, and that it was afterwards discarded by the higher classes for the golden *bullæ* of the Etruscans. Juvenal (*Sat.* v. 164) contrasts the 'Etruscum aurum' with the 'nodus tantum et signum de paupere loro'; for the significance of this 'knot' cf. P. Wolters, 'Faden und Knoten als Amulett' (*ARW* viii. [1905], Beiheft, p. 19). Children were presented with these amulets on the day of their birth (Plautus, *loc. cit.*), and wore them during the tender years in which they were unable to guard themselves against the evil eye and kindred perils. On reaching the age of puberty they dedicated the *bullæ* to the Lares (Persius, v. 31).

From the specimens discovered we learn that in most cases the *bullæ* was composed of two convex disks of gold, which could be fastened closely together by means of the overlapping hooks on their edges (Daremberg-Saglio, fig. 895). In the hollow space thus formed the Romans used to keep things 'quæ crederent adversus invidiam valentissima' (Macrob. i. 6, 9), as instances of which Marcellus Empiricus (viii. 50) mentions the eyes of a green lizard. A *bullæ* discovered in the grave of a soldier at Aquileia (Heydemann, *Mitt. aus d. Antikensammlungen in Ober- u. Mittel-Italien*, 1879, p. 27, cited by Pauly-Wissowa) was found to contain hair: it was a popular superstition among the ancients that hair was a protection against head wounds (Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 41). It would appear that the various articles that might be deposited in the *bullæ* were grouped under the general term *praebia*—a word which, according to Varro (*de Ling. Lat.* vii. § 107), had been already used by Naevius. Varro himself derives its meaning 'a praebendo ut sit tutus, quod sint remedia in collo pueris,' and Festus (p. 238) speaks of *praebia* composed of dirt taken from the folds in the robe of a certain temple-statue.

The most familiar and most comprehensive term of this class was *amuletum* (see artt. in Daremberg-Saglio and Pauly-Wissowa). The word is of uncertain etymology, being either an early adaptation—possibly from the Etruscan—or else a genuine Latin form in *-eto* (cf. Walde, *op. cit.* p. 27); on the latter alternative it is probably derived from *amulum*, and would thus mean 'food of coarse meal' (*Glotta*, ii. [1910] 219 ff.). There is no available evidence, however, for its usage in this sense; in every known instance it answers to *φωλακῆριον*. It is nevertheless quite possible that a word which primarily meant 'strengthening, farinaceous food' should at length come to signify 'a protection against evil.' Of a dish prepared with meal, Pliny (*HN* xxv. 128) says: 'iis qui cotidie gustent eam, nulla nocitura mala medicamenta tradunt.'

Charms and amulets could indeed be made of any kind of material (Hubert, art. 'Magie,' in Daremberg-Saglio, p. 13) possessed of some outstanding quality beneath which supernatural virtue might conceivably lurk. The conceptions which suggested the association of abnormal powers and magical effects with particular substances have been discussed in the 'Greek' section of this article, and need not again be entered upon here. Among terrestrial things—the sun and the moon have been dealt with above (p. 462)—*plants* and *animals* were specially regarded as the media of magical power. Sometimes the particular object was used as a whole, sometimes a definite portion thereof was taken; and in the latter case the part was supposed to have special influence just because it was a part, or else to contain a portion of the

power pervading the whole. The available records of vegetable and animal substances employed in this way would of themselves easily fill a lexicon; a beginning has been made by E. Riess (art. 'Aberglaube' in Pauly-Wissowa, i. cols. 51–83). The few typical instances given below will suffice to show that the Romans likewise shared in the superstitions regarding them.

With reference to *plants* used as amulets, it seems unlikely that there was any importation in cases where the magical influence is associated with their *names*—a phenomenon by no means infrequent (Apuleius, *Apologia*, 35)—and where this association holds good only in Latin. Pliny (*HN* xxvii. 131; cf. R. Heim, 'Incantamenta magica graeca latina,' in *Jahrb. f. Philol.* Suppl. xix. 478, no. 49) informs us that the plant called *reseda*, growing at Ariminum, will expel all kinds of inflammation if invoked with the formula 'Reseda morbos reseda,' where the name of the plant is also the imperative of *resedare*. Many of the examples given by writers *de Re Rustica*, again, have a genuinely Italian flavour; e.g. an oak log ('robusta materia,' Varro, i. 38. 3; Columella, ii. 15. 6) hidden in a dung-heap is a protection against serpents. Breaking one's fast upon cabbage is recommended by Cato (*de Agri Cult.* 156) as a cure for intoxication, while Varro advises that at the beginning of autumn the figure of a grape-cluster should be placed in the vineyard as a defence against bad weather (Pliny, *HN* xviii. 294). In a comedy of Titinius one of the characters declares that strings of garlic ward off witches—a saying that points to a popular superstition of ancient Italy (*Scaen. Rom. poes. Fragm.*, ed. O. Ribbeck [1897–8], ii. 188). The torches used in marriage processions at Rome had to be of hawthorn (Festus, p. 245; E. Samter, *Familienfeste der Griechen u. Römer* [1901], p. 16), while Ovid (*Fasti*, vi. 129) refers to the same shrub as a prophylactic. Likewise, the custom of touching the threshold and door-post with a sprig of the strawberry plant (*arbutus*) as a means of driving away witches (Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 155) is regarded by W. Mannhardt (*Baumkultus*, Berlin, 1875, p. 299) as indigenous to Rome.

Similarly with regard to *animals*, popular etymologies sometimes enable us to recognize certain practices as of native Roman origin; thus, it was believed that the ashes (*carbo*) of three crabs that had been burned alive would counteract *carbunculus*, a disease of plants (Pliny, *HN* xviii. 293; Riess, *op. cit.* col. 74). Other instances connected with animals are given by prose authors as observed among the practices of their age. Pliny tells us that the snouts of wolves were fixed upon the door as a means of guarding against *veneficia* (*HN* xxviii. 157); Palladius (i. 35; cf. Apuleius, *Metamorphoseon*, iii. 23) says that owls with outstretched wings were nailed to the house as a protection from hail; and, again (i. 35, *ad fin.*), that the skull of a mare or she-ass was placed in gardens to ensure fertility. Varro (*de Re Rust.* ii. 9. 6) adopts from Saserna the suggestion that dogs may be made faithful if they be given a boiled frog to eat. In order to avoid being struck by lightning, the Emperor Augustus always carried the skin of a seal (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 90).

Magical virtues were in like manner ascribed to certain parts of the *human body*. We have already spoken of the *fascinum*; a similar purpose was served by a representation of the female vulva, effected either by means of a gesture (Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 433), or by a drawing (Jahn, *op. cit.* p. 79 f.). An invalid that Vespasian touched with his foot was restored to health (Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. 81). The hand, too, had peculiar efficacy; it could ward off evil from what it grasped (Persius, ii. 35), but

could also cause death (Bücheler, *Carm. lat. epigr.* ii. [1897] no. 987; O. Weinreich, 'Antike Heilungswunder,' in *Rel.-gesch. Vers. und Vorarb.* vol. viii. pt. i. p. 58 f.). Even the nail-parings of one who had fever were used as a means of magically transferring the disease to another (Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 86). Analogous properties were attributed to the various secretions of the human body. The spittle was regarded as a preventive; a Roman spat upon his breast when praising himself, in order to avert the jealousy of the gods; and, when engaged in the operation of magical healing, he sought to ward off hostile influences by the same action (Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 36; cf. Varro, *de Re Rust.* i. 2, 27; A. Abt, 'Die Apologie des Apuleius,' in *Rel.-gesch. Vers. und Vorarb.*, vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 261).

Stones and metals were likewise used as amulets, though but seldom in their natural state. In most cases the selected stone was subjected to special preparation; it was inscribed with some magically potent figure, or with a form of words, and in this way efficacy was given to the stone, and durability to the spell. Belief in the virtue of particular stones was a relatively late growth in Rome, and was probably of foreign origin. The oldest surviving 'stone-books' are Greek, e.g. the *Lithika* ascribed to Orpheus (Abel, *Orphica* [1885], 109 ff.), and the sources used by Pliny in this connexion are likewise non-Roman (cf. 'Damigeron' in Pauly-Wissowa). Stones thus carved and inscribed give us the so-called 'Abraxas gems' (cf. 'Abraxas' in Pauly-Wissowa; A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, 1900, plate xlviii.), which were worn in all kinds of jewellery, and especially rings. The practice of making boys wear an amber bead as an amulet was also brought from abroad (Pliny, *HN* xxxvii. 50).

With regard to metals, again, we have seen that bronze was supposed to have the power of driving away evil spirits. The Italian museums contain numerous objects exemplifying the practice of using bronze for prophylactic purposes (cf. e.g. Bellucci, *Amuleti*, p. 11, nos. 10, 11, 'pesce in bronzo'; p. 12, no. 14, 'fallo in bronzo'; no. 15, 'vulva in bronzo'—all from the Iron Age). The use of silver and gold for the same purposes has already been referred to. These metals were brought to Italy at a relatively early period, and the Roman superstitions associated with them may therefore be fairly ancient. A thin plate of either substance was made an amulet by having engraved upon it a prophylactic text (M. Siebourg, 'Ein gnostisches Goldamulet aus Gellep,' *Bonner Jahrb.* ciii. [1898] 134 ff.). Iron also could ward off evil spirits (Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 260; cf. E. Norden's ed. [1903], p. 201). An iron nail was driven into the ground at the place where an epileptic had fallen, the idea being that the demon of epilepsy was thereby riveted to the spot (Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 63). An iron nail also served to add efficacy to the *defixiones* inscribed upon leaden tablets (see above); to pierce with a nail the tablet containing the name of one's adversary was to impale the adversary in person. Nails used in this way, however, were sometimes formed of other metals; a well-known example is the bronze nail which, with its inscription, warded off the wild dogs of Donna Artemix (*Archäol. Jahrb.*, *Ergänzungsheft*, vi. [1905] 43).

The stone and metal figures used as talismans were in most cases representations of the deities that preserve men from calamity. Sulla carried in all his battles a golden miniature of Apollo which had been brought from Delphi (Plutarch, *Sulla*, xxix.). A kindred phenomenon is the respect subsequently accorded to the figure of Alexander the Great (*Script. Hist. Aug.* 'xxx

Tyr.' xiv. 4), which was worn in rings and all sorts of ornaments. Magic virtues were ascribed also to the characteristic symbols of the gods; thus, on a prophylactic clay slab found in Naples (Jahn, *op. cit.* plate v. no. 3, p. 52), we recognize, among other objects, the *kerykeion* of Mercury, the trident of Neptune, the club of Hercules, the bolt of Jupiter, the lyre of Apollo, the bow of Artemis, and the tongs of Vulcan. Pictures of grotesque and horrible appearance were also used by the Romans, as were the *Gorgoneia* by the Greeks, for the purpose of keeping impending evils at bay (*Bonner Jahrbücher*, cxviii. [1909] 257). A stone head with the tongue thrust out was found beside a tower in a Roman fort in Hungary (*Österr. Jahreshefte*, vii., 1903, Beiblatt, p. 116, fig. 36 [communicated by L. Deubner]).

The method adopted for appropriating the magical qualities of the various substances was not always the same. Vegetable materials were often taken inwardly as food; thus, the stinging nettle, used as *cibus religiosus* (Pliny, *HN* xxi. 93), gave a whole year's immunity from disease. Or the substance could communicate its beneficent quality by being rubbed into the object for which protection was sought. Hence the bride rubbed the door-posts with wolf's fat (Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 142). In some cases it was enough merely to touch the object, as with the *arbutus* (see above), but the usual course was to bring the protective material into permanent connexion with the thing to be protected, so that the virtue of the former might flow continuously into the latter. This end was best secured by binding the prophylactic to the object, and accordingly the amulet was in later times called *alligatura* (Filastr. *Div. Her.* 21. 3). The simplest method was to carry it by a string round the neck, as was the case with the *bullæ*. In local ailments the specific was bandaged to the affected part (Cato, *de Agri Cult.* cap. 160: 'ad luxum aut ad fracturam alliga'). When once the remedial substance had done its work, it was probably dedicated to the gods; the *bullæ*, as we have seen, was given to the Lares, while the 'remedia quae corporibus aegrorum adnexa fuerant' were taken to the temple of Febris (Valerius Maximus, ii. 5, 6). But most amulets were worn throughout life, and were not removed even at death, as is shown by numerous 'finds' in tombs.

Moreover, not only human beings, but animals as well, were safeguarded or healed by means of these pendants. The *phalerae* worn by horses closely resemble the *crepundia* of children (cf. Rich, *Illustr. Wörterbuch d. röm. Altertümer*, 1862, s.v. 'Phalerae'). Cattle were similarly provided with clay figures within which a living shrew-mouse had been immured (Columella, vi. 17). As already indicated, even inanimate things, such as gates, houses, gardens, tombs, and city-walls, were protected by amulets. Amulets for the house, in particular, have been found in great profusion; pavements with figures—e.g. of magically potent animals—designed to arrest the eye (P. Bienkowski, 'Malocchio,' *Eranos Vindobonensis*, p. 235 ff.; cf. the 'Greek' section of this art.), or inscriptions (Bücheler, *Carm. lat. epigr.*, no. 26: '[Felicitas] hic habitat; nil intret mali'). Such inscriptions were regarded as specially effective against fire (Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 20; Festus, p. 18). Here, too, figure and writing were brought into immediate contact with the object they were meant to protect, being either imprinted upon or inserted into the wall, and thus becoming a component part thereof.

Belief in charms and amulets did not expire in Rome with the ancient period. It remained active even after Italy was Christianized (cf. the art.

'Amulette' in Schiele, *Rel. in Gesch. u. Gegenwart*, i. [1908] 454 ff., and in *DACL*, i. [1904] 1784 ff.); it was vigorous in the Middle Ages (J. Burckhardt, *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien*, ii.² [1878] 279 ff.), and survives to-day with scarcely diminished force (Bellucci, *Amuleti*; Gius. Pitre, *Bibliot. delle tradiz. popol. siziliane*, Palermo, 1875, vols. xvii., xix.; Th. Trede, *Das Heidentum in der röm. Kirche*, 1891, iv. 'Amulette,' p. 475, 'Zauber,' p. 498).

LITERATURE.—The more important works have been cited above, and under the 'Greek' section of this article.

R. WÜNSCH.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Slavic).—In no other quarter of Europe has magic, in all the various forms assumed by it from the dawn of history to the present day, exercised so great a sway as in the Balto-Slavic countries. In this article, however, the writer proposes to confine the inquiry almost entirely to Russia, partly because he is more conversant with this narrower area, and partly because it may be taken for granted that the conditions prevailing there extend also to the other Slavic countries and to the Baltic districts as well.

In connexion with Russia, a phenomenon that strikes us at once is the large variety of equivalents provided by the language for the word 'magician'—terms which, so far as their etymology can be definitely traced, afford a suggestive glimpse into the magician's mode of procedure. Thus we find that he is the 'maker,' i.e. the one who performs the magic actions; or he is the 'speaker,' who mutters the incantation; or, again, the 'knower,' the man who is learned in the magic rites.

To the first category belongs the Russ. (properly Old Bulg.) *carodej*, 'magician,' from *carā*, 'magic,' and *dejati*, 'to make.' Originally the root *carā*, corresponding precisely to Old Iran. *carā*, 'means,' 'remedy,' signifies simply 'making,' being cognate with Skr. *krātī*, 'he makes,' and *krtya*, 'action,' 'magic' (cf. art. *AVAN KRETOION*, vol. ii. p. 40). The same idea underlies the term *potvornikā*, 'magician' (now obsolete in this sense), connected with *potvorny*, 'magical,' *potvornstvo* and *potvory* (plu.), 'magic'; and all are derived from Russ. *tvorit*, 'to make' (cf. Ital. *fattura*; O. Fr. *fature*, 'witchcraft,' from Med. Lat. *factura*; O. Norse, *gömringar* (plu.), 'magic,' from *göra*, 'to do'). The 'speaker,' 'babblers,' is denoted by Russ. *volchivā* and *volčevnikā*, 'magician,' from O. Slav. *volusnati*, 'balbutia.' To these we may add the dialectal Russ. forms, *bačari*, 'magician,' from O. Slav. *bači*, *bajati*, cognate with Gr. *φασι*, Lat. *fari*; *obajdniki*, *obajdniki*, 'magician,' from *obajati*, 'to chatter,' and *obavnikā* (in the *Domostroj*), probably also connected therewith. Finally, the 'knowers' are designated *vedniki* (obsolete), from *vedati*, 'to know,' and *znachari*, from *znati*, with the same meaning. No definite explanation has as yet been provided for O. Russ. *kudessnikā* (cf. *kudess*, 'the masked one,' *kudess*, 'magic,' 'witchcraft,' 'Christmas,' etc.); or *koldunā*, which in all probability is not, as was stated in art. *AVAN KRETOION*, vol. ii. p. 45, a native Russian word, but rather an importation from the Finnish. In the Karelian dialect, at all events, this term is in common use (Georgievskij, *Russian-Karelian Dictionary*, St. Petersburg, 1903, p. 53); and the Karelians, be it remembered, have from time immemorial been recognized in Russia as adepts in the occult art. Thus, for instance, when the Grand Prince Ivanovic took as his second wife the young Glinskā, he resorted to certain Karelians for such magical expedients as would enable him to have offspring.

We shall find occasion below to refer to other Russian terms for 'magician.' All those already mentioned have, of course, their respective feminine forms (e.g. *carodejka*, *vedima*, *znacharka*); and in Russia, indeed, as elsewhere, women, especially when old, were and still are believed to be specially versed in all manner of magic. During the 17th cent., for example, certain women belonging to Moscow gained so great a reputation in the art that their names have not yet been forgotten. It is worthy of note that the Russian magicians formed themselves into special guilds (*cechi*), by means of which the peculiar methods of the craft were handed on from one generation to another.

The aims of magic are of two kinds. Those who practise the art may intend thereby to secure some advantage either for themselves or others; or, i.e. 'The Book of Household Management,' composed in the reign of Ivan iv.

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again, they may seek to work injury upon others. Under the former class will fall the special case where recourse is had to magic as affording protection against the magical practices of one's enemies, such hostile machinations being called in Russian *porca*, 'enchantment,' from *poriti*, 'to damage.' The means used by the adept in furtherance of his designs may be *things* or *actions* or *words*. It is certainly impossible to regard these three categories as furnishing an exact classification of the extraordinary variety of available accessories, as in actual practice any single species seldom occurs alone, but is in most cases combined with one or both of the others; and, in particular, the selected things or actions sometimes acquire their potency only after an incantation or spell (*zagovórū*, *nagovórū*, from *govorit*, 'to speak') has been uttered over them. Nevertheless, we must so far avail ourselves of the triple division indicated, if for no other purpose than to introduce some degree of order into the huge mass of material. Some consideration must also be given to the question whether, amid this jungle of delusion and absurdity, there may not be places where the presence of rational, or at least intelligible, elements is to be seen.

(1) Amongst the *things* manipulated for magical purposes, mention ought, first of all, to be made of plants and plant-substances. We find, indeed, a distinct order of magicians bearing the name *zeliščiki* or *zeličniki* (in the *Domostroj*), from *zeliče*, 'herb,' 'plant.' These were regarded as experts in herbs and roots. Every member of the order had his own 'plant-book' (*trávníkū*, from *tráva*, 'plant,' 'herb'), which was bequeathed to his successor. Such *trávníki* may still be found in Russian villages, though very rarely; for it is believed that, if copies of them are made, the plants named in them will lose their efficacy. They are also exposed to other dangers (see below). They are handed down as precious heirlooms from one generation to another. These books give, first of all, the native name of the plant; then a description—frequently very precise; then the locality where it may be found; and, finally, its medicinal properties. They often contain observations of this kind: 'it is good in cases where a person has become insane, or has been imbecile from childhood; steam yourself with it and drink the juice, and you shall be well' (cf. Kulikovskij, *Dictionary of the Dialect of Olonez* [Russ.], St. Petersburg, 1898, p. 121). Many of these plants and their virtues have become known to us from the statements of a Siberian magician who was commanded by the Czar Alexej Michailovic to send an account of them to the authorities. Throughout Russia the Eve of St. John's is recognized as the peculiarly appropriate time for picking or digging such herbs. This holds good, above all, of the fern or brake—Russ. *páporotū*, a word which, representing the Indo-Germanic name (cf. Gr. *πτερίς*, O. Gall. *ratis*, from **pratis*, Lith. *papartis*, etc.), indicates the ancient repute of the plant. It was believed to be specially effective in the breaking of locks and the unearthing of treasure.

While the employment of vegetable substances for magical purposes may have some basis of reason in the gradually discovered remedial properties of plants, we look in vain for any such ostensible ground of rationality in the innumerable other things used in the operations of the magician—water and fire, bones and belemnites, stones and bears' claws, dead men's hands and winding-sheets, etc., although in another aspect, as will be explained more fully below, these things, too, may in some cases show a certain rational connexion with facts. Latterly, an outstanding significance was attached by the adept to certain objects which existed only in the sphere of imagination, such as serpents'

horns, the 'eagle stone' (a stone alleged to have been found in an eagle's nest), and the fabled horn of the unicorn. It is recorded that in 1655 the Czar Alexej Michailovic purchased three of these horns for a sum of 10,000 roubles.

To give effect to the virtues of the various objects named, the substances themselves—so far as they could in some form or another be eaten or drunk—were administered to the sick person by the magician, incantations being in most cases recited during the process. They were likewise freely used as ointments, in the mixing of which the most preposterous substances were employed—'turpentine, naphtha, arsenic, human blood, milk of women and animals, honey, dewdrops, sulphur, pitch, hops' (as given in an old MS in the Rumjanzow Museum). Besides these magical articles, roots and slips of paper inscribed with magic formulæ were often worn as amulets, the usual name of which (as in O. Russ.) is *nduzi*, from *navjaziti*, 'to attach' (*nduznik*, 'wizard', *nduziti*, 'to practise witchcraft'; O. Russ. *nauzotvorici*, 'amulet-maker' = magician).¹ Similarly, letters in which are written the Greek names of the various fevers are often worn as amulets, meant either to heal or to guard. Fevers, like most other diseases, are regarded as evil spirits—as the twelve daughters of Herod, virgins with dishevelled hair, whose supreme lord is the *besŭ trjašca* (*besŭ*, 'devil', O. Russ. *tresica*, 'fever'). A connexion of the closest kind, extending even to the names, exists between the amulet (*nduzi*) and the knot (*uzelŭ*), which is used as a means of 'binding' one's enemy or his hostile actions. An ancient spell runs thus:

'Five knots will I tie for every unfriendly and unfaithful shooter (*streljcu*)—on the guns, on the bows, on every weapon of war. O knots, shut against the shooter all highways and byways, close up the guns, put all the bows out of order, string together all weapons of war; in my knots let there be a mighty virtue.'

(2) Passing now from things to *actions*, we would note at the outset one of the principal adjuncts of the *porca* (see above), viz. the 'evil eye' of envy and malice (Russ. *sglazŭ* or *prizorŭ*; Gr. *ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρός*; Goth. *augô unsel*; cf. Mk 7²²). By means of the evil eye—as also of the evil formula (*urokŭ*)—it is possible to bring upon people, especially children, who are peculiarly susceptible to its influence, all manner of diseases, and in particular the symptoms of epilepsy (*klikŭsestvo*, from *klikati*, 'to scream') and hiccup (*ikôta*). It will hardly be denied that the dread of the evil eye has a partial justification in observed fact. In the circle of our own acquaintance, for instance, we may be able to recall some individual the very cast of whose eye makes us ill at ease in his presence (cf. S. Seligmann, *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes*, Berlin, 1910).

Another proceeding that was greatly dreaded was the 'secret bestowal' (*podmetŭ*) of objects fraught with occult dangers. In 1598 the Russians pledged their oath to the Czar Boris—

'that neither in eating nor in drinking, neither in their clothing nor in anything else, would they attempt to devise evil [against him]; that they would not send to him any of their people hearing sorcery or noisome routs; that they would not hire wizards or witches; that they would not efface his footprints with any magical design; that they would not by means of magic send any evil upon him by the wind' (see below), etc. In particular, all admission to the Imperial stables was forbidden, 'so that no evil-disposed person should place noxious herbs or roots in the Emperor's saddle, bridle, belt, gloves', etc. We thus see that the Czars of that period had no less cause for apprehension than their successors in our own times.

¹ Cf. the Germ. renderings of *amuletum* given in F. Kluge, *Etymolog. Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, Strassburg, 1909, s.v. 'Amulett': 'Artzney so man ann Hals henckt,' and 'Anhängsel.' According to R. Wünsch, *Glotta*, 1910, ii. 219 ff., *amuletum* is not derived from *amolŭ*, 'to drive away,' but from Gr. *ἀμύλον*, 'starch-flour,' which, if taken as food, was believed to have magical effects; cf. the Roman section of this art., p. 463^a. The Lith. term is *seitas*, i.e. 'amulets and suspended things that have been consecrated by a Seitone' (on this word cf. art. ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 64).

A further method of inflicting evil upon any one was that just mentioned in the oath given to the Czar Boris, viz. 'conveyance by wind' (*nasyŭka po vetrŭ*). Sorcerers, being lords of weather and wind, are called 'cloud-dispellers' (*oblako-progonniki*) and 'cloud-preservers' (*oblako-chranitelniki*). For a sorcerer, therefore, invested with such power, it was a simple matter, by means of a magic word, to make the wind veer in any desired direction, to throw dust into the air, and cause the wind to carry the dust to any person he chose, so that the victim 'might become crooked, wrinkled, be blown asunder and desiccated.'

There is another large group of magic actions which become intelligible only in the light of the facts adduced in the art. ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 40, regarding the nature of magic in general. It was explained there that the magic action, in its genuine form, has its roots in symbolism. To put the matter concretely: an action is performed which in some way suggests the real object of desire, and is thus supposed to help towards its attainment. This fundamental characteristic of all magic manifests itself very prominently in the extraordinary operations of the Russian sorcerer and sorceress. When a person goes to law, he must take from a birch-tree a trembling twig (? *pereperŭ*, otherwise *perepelŭ*) and say: 'As this twig trembles, so may my adversary at law and his tongue tremble.' When a woman feels that she is being neglected by her husband, the sorceress gives her a root, which must be placed upon a mirror with the words: 'As I look into this glass and do not tire of seeing myself, so let such an one never grow tired of seeing me.' When a merchant has difficulty in selling his goods, the sorceress casts a spell upon a piece of honey, and says: 'As the bees of the hive (? *jarosja*) swarm around [this honey], so let purchasers flock to this merchant because of his wares.' The merchant must then smear himself with the honey.

(3) The same symbolism—but transferred from the realm of action to that of speech—pervades the third category of Russian magic distinguished above, viz. the class of *magic formulæ*. This is, without doubt, the most interesting group of the phenomena under consideration. The magic formula, resting upon a perfectly intelligible belief in the determining, soothing, and even healing power of human speech (cf. art. ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 40), developed in Russia into an altogether unique species of popular poetry, to the study of which the scholars of that country have long devoted their attention. Our knowledge of these magic formulæ is derived from oral and written tradition. At present, it is true, both sources of supply show a tendency to languish. By reason of the multiplication of schools and the growing dissemination of the knowledge of written and printed characters—once, in village life, the monopoly of the adept—it is now difficult for the inquirer to find a person who will condescend, even for money, to unfold the treasure of magic formulæ stored in his memory; and the difficulty is augmented by the belief that the formula loses its virtue when communicated to another. Chap-books (*tetrádki*) containing such incantations, notes of charms, etc., like the plant-books (*trávniki*) already referred to, must formerly have had a wide circulation in Russia, while they are now gradually being brought to light in manuscripts—dating in some cases from the 17th cent.—rescued from the dust of archives and libraries. Of written memorials of this kind, however, there has recently appeared in village life a dangerous enemy, viz. the inclination of the peasantry to turn every available piece of paper into *cigárki* (cigarettes).

In what follows, the reader will find a few speci

mens of magic formulæ drawn from a collection recently published by N. N. Vinogradov in the *Zivaja Starina* (see the Literature at end of art.). The selection has been guided mainly by the desire to present such examples as exhibit the *comparison* which here takes the place of the symbolic magic action.

(1) *An incantation used as a love-charm* (Vinogradov, 1907, no. 54): 'I, the servant of God, Vasilus, will rise up, blessing myself; I will walk, crossing myself, out of the room by the door, and out of the forecourt by the gate, across the square before the gate, through the wicket in the fence; I will go out into the open country; in the open country is the blue sea, in the blue sea lies a white stone, beside this white stone stands a withered tree, and by this withered tree stands a withered man; he backs the withered tree and lays it on the fire. As soon and as swiftly as the withered tree flames up in the fire, so soon and so swiftly may the heart of the handmaiden of God [so and so] flame up for the servant of God [so and so], etc. . . . Of all my words may the key be in the sea, the lock in my mouth,—I shut, I bar to all eternity. Amen.'

(2) *Incantation for extinguishing love* (ib. 1907, no. 82): 'I, the servant of God [name], will rise without blessing myself; I will walk without crossing myself, out of the room, not by the door, out of the forecourt, not by the gate; I will go into the open country, to the blue sea; I will stand upon the beam of the ground flat; I will glance, I will gaze towards the north; in the north lies an island of ice; on the island of ice stands a cabin of ice, in the cabin of ice are walls of ice, a floor of ice, a roof of ice, doors of ice, windows of ice, window-glass of ice, a stove of ice, a table of ice, a seat of ice, a bedstead of ice, bed-clothes of ice, and there sits the emperor of ice himself. In this cabin of ice, on this stove of ice, sits a Polish cat, sits an over-sea dog; they sit with their backs turned towards each other. When the Polish cat and the over-sea dog turn their noses towards each other, they tussle and bite each other till blood flows. So may the servant of God [name] and the handmaid of God [name] nag and bite each other till they have blue marks and bloody wounds, etc. Amen.' The person must repeat this thrice, spitting each time.

(3) *Incantation against fleas, bugs, beetles, and other insects* (ib. 1908, no. 70): 'Fleas, bugs, beetles, and all such creatures, behold, I come to you as a guest; my body, as bones; my blood, as pitch; eat moss, but not me. My word is sure. Key. Lock. Amen, Amen, Amen.'

(4) *Incantation upon gun and powder* (ib. 1908, no. 146): 'Adam comes from the street. In his hands he carries a cudgel. Powder—dung! Shot—dust. *Mingo* [Lat.] upon him; he shall not kill me, but he shall not escape from before my shot. Now and ever, and to all eternity. Amen.'

(5) *Conclusion of an incantation designed to turn a maiden against a youth* (ib. 1908, nos. 73, 74): 'According to this incantation, let a person take a forked twig, break it in two, and, burning one piece, hide the other in the earth, with the words: "As those two pieces do not grow together, and will not again come together, so may the servant of God [name] and the handmaid of God [name] not come together or meet each other to all eternity."

(6) *Incantation against bleeding* (ib. 1908, no. 75): 'I will rise up, blessing myself; I will go, crossing myself, into the open country, upon the blue sea. In the open country, upon the blue sea, is a blue stone, and upon it a brown horse; on the horse sits an old man; he holds in his hand a golden needle, a silken thread; he sews, sews up the wound, stanches the blood, takes away gout and rheumatics, wards off evil eyes and enchantment (*prizory, prikosy*) from the servant of God [name]. Thou, O blood, stop, flow not, and do not drop from the servant of God [name]. To all eternity. Amen.' This must be repeated thrice, and a needle drawn thrice round the wound. Then the needle is thrown into the river or well.

Even these few examples of Russian incantations will serve to show that we are here in touch with some of the very oldest elements of magic, and, at the same time, with some accretions of later growth, and probably not of Russian origin at all. The frequent reference to Biblical persons and occurrences, or to the mysterious stone *latyri*, the marvellous island of Bujan, etc., which cannot be brought into direct relation with the Russian people, seems rather to bespeak a foreign, and in the main an Eastern, source of influence. It does not fall within the scope of this article, however, to enter upon this aspect of our subject, which, be it remarked, re-emerges in various ways in the fields of the popular legendary poetry of Russia, i.e. the *byliny*. Suffice it meanwhile to draw attention to a recent work by V. J. Mansikka, *Über russische Zauberformeln*, etc. (see the Lit.), which puts the reader in possession of the latest information on the wider questions referred to.

The practice of magic, as carried on by means of objects, actions, and words, pervades every phase

of ancient Russian life. A suggestive inventory of the magic devices to be guarded against by the devout Christian when he is sick is given in the *Domostroj* (16th cent.), ch. xxiii. ('How the good Christian should cure himself of disease and all ailments'). It was a rooted conviction of the popular mind that all things are possible to the proper employment of occult power. Certain sections of life were supposed to be peculiarly open to the influence of *pórca*, as for instance—besides health of body and mind—the day of one's marriage. On that day the presence of the *koldún* was simply indispensable, while the *drúška* also—the master of ceremonies for the time—must needs be an expert in all the arts of magic (cf. P. V. Sejn, *The Great Russian in his Songs, Rites, Customs, Superstitions, Tales, and Legends* [Russian], 2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1898, 1900). The same phenomena meet us everywhere: charm and counter-charm, sorcery pitted against sorcery. In ancient Russia, as we learn, the rivalry of magicians often resulted in actual pitched battles.

The special form of occult art which is concerned with the divination of the future need not be dealt with here, as it has already been discussed with some fullness in the article *ARYAN RELIGION*, vol. ii. p. 54f., with special reference to the Baltic peoples.

LITERATURE.—N. Kostomarov, 'Sketch of the Domestic Life and Customs of the Great Russians in the 16th and 17th Centuries,' ch. 21 (Beliefs), in *Sovremennik*, vol. lxxviii. p. 529ff. [Russian]; N. N. Vinogradov, 'Spells and Blessings, in Appendixes to the *Zivaja Starina* (1907, 1908) [Russian]; V. J. Mansikka, *Über russische Zauberformeln mit Berücksichtigung der Blut- u. Verrenkungsbegeben* (Helsingfors, 1909); on pp. vii-ix of the last-named work will be found an extensive list of Russian works dealing with the subject.

O. SCHRADER.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Tibetan).—

Charms are very extensively, almost universally, used in Tibet, owing to the intensely superstitious character of the people and their inveterate animistic beliefs. In their hard struggle for life amidst some of the fiercest and most awe-inspiring environments in the world, the Tibetans see in the storms of hail, and in the floods and avalanches which wreck their homes and scanty crops and vex them with disaster, the work of malignant spirits infesting the air and water and locality. They attribute to these spirits also all other misfortunes—accidents, disease, and untimely death. They are ever haunted by the fear of harm from those unseen evil agencies, and to ward it off they seek protection in charms, especially those supplied to them by their Buddhist priests. Indeed, the chief attraction which Buddhism possesses for the populace is the mastery which it is supposed to afford votaries over the evil spirits and devils which beset them on all sides. In this way it happens that the charms in use in Tibet are mostly borrowed from Indian Buddhism, and incorporate largely, as the present writer has shown (*Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 404), ancient Vedic ritual of the nature of sympathetic magic. This the Tibetans seized on eagerly, and have preserved, as it presents so much in common with their own native animistic beliefs.

These ancient Vedic charms, with their preparatory incantations, readily lent themselves to be adapted by the later Buddhists, who, by an extension of Buddha's nihilistic idealism, taught that, where nothing really exists and all is the product of illusion, the name of a thing, spoken or written, is to be regarded as being as real as the thing itself. A charm thus may be in the form of an uttered, or even unuttered, incantation with cabalistic gestures; or, as is much more common, a concrete objective one containing inscribed charmed sentences or letters. The written charms are prepared in cabalistic fashion, with special enchanted material, according to set prescriptions. Thus, for

the *charm against weapons*, the directions are as follows:

With the blood of a wounded man draw the annexed monogram (this is an ancient Sanskrit character, and seems to read *śam*—possibly, in the opinion of the present writer, intended to express onomatopoeically the hum of a spear or a sling-stone), and insert it in the centre of the diagram entitled 'the Assembly of Lamas' hearts.' The sheet should then be folded and wrapped in a piece of red silk, and tied up with string and worn around the neck or on an unexposed portion of the breast immediately next the skin, and never be removed.

Again, for kitchen cooking smells offensive to the house-gods:

With the blood of a hybrid bull-calf write the monogram GAU [= 'cow'], insert it in the print, and fold up in a piece of hedgehog-skin. [This last may be compared with the Western Aryan myth of the Greek hearth-god Vulcan whose mother Hera as Io is represented as a cow.]

In others, the charmed Sanskrit sentence or formula (*mantra*) is extracted from the later Mahāyāna Buddhist scriptures of the Yoga and Tantrik era (c. A.D. 500 onwards), and consists of apocryphal sayings in corrupt Sanskrit ascribed to Buddha—often an unintelligible jargon of exclamations and incantations like the 'Fe-fo-fum' of the nursery tales. Such sentences or formulae are termed *dhāraṇī*, as they are supposed to 'hold' magical power. Sometimes a single letter only is used, in which case it is the 'germ,' or *bīja*, of the *mantra*. These letters or sentences are usually inserted in a diagram or *yantra*, which frequently is inscribed with the orthodox 'Buddhist Creed.'

The more indigenous charms usually contain Chinese astrological and geomantic signs and symbols; for misfortune is ascribed also to unfavourable planetary influences. In these, as well as in those imported from India, if they are to be worn on the person, an important part of the protection depends on the manner in which the folded charm is tied up into a packet with many-coloured threads in geometrical patterns. This is done according to the rites of the pre-Buddhist religion, the *Bon*.

Thus prepared, the charm is worn on the person or affixed to the house, or to a dangerous rock, or is tied on bridges or cairns at the top of passes, or on bushes by the river's edge, or is hoisted on tall flags. For wearing on the person, if for under the dress, the packet is stitched up in a case of cloth and covered with flannel, to be hung from the neck, or it may be worn as a sash or attached to the upper arm; and several different kinds may be fastened together. When worn outside the dress, charms are usually carried in a metallic amulet box.

The amulet box, termed *gaṇī*, may be of copper, silver, or gold, according to the wealth of the wearer. It is in two pieces, a front and back hinged together by one or two wooden plugs at the two sides. The size averages about 2 inches square and about $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch deep; but some are much larger. The commonest shape is somewhat oblong, with an acuminate tip to its arched top, which may possibly be intended to represent the form of a leaf of the Bo-tree (*Ficus religiosa*). It is usually embossed with the '8 lucky symbols' (*aṣṭa-mangalam*) or other signs. Others are ovoid, and many are inlaid with turquoise. Several are glazed in front to expose the features of the central image, which most of them contain.

The contents of the amulet box are varied. The objects which are put in are supposed to be such as are dreaded by evil spirits. They are: (1) the charmed sentence as a magical spell, tied with thread as above described. (2) Miniature images of the chief Buddhist deities and saints, usually as clay medallions or arched plaques, occasionally of metal. The favourite image is Amitābha Buddha, the god of the Western paradise, and his son Avalokita of the *Om mani* spell, and supposed to be incarnate in the Dalai Lama; also Avalokita's consort Tārā, the queen of heaven: less frequently

the patron saints Padmasambhava and Tsongk'apa, and the demoniacal protectors of Buddhism, the king-devils, varying according to the sect, e.g. Vajrabhairava, etc.; Buddha himself is seldom carried. These images are wrapped in bits of silk or other cloth, leaving the face uncovered. (3) Sacred symbols, some of the 8 lucky emblems, etc. (4) Relics of holy lamas, shreds of robes, hair, and nail-parings, as fetishes. (5) Grains of consecrated barley, pills, and cake from altars. (6) Earth and small pebbles from holy sites. (7) Incense and musk. These amulet cases are worn by nearly every individual in Tibet. Most commonly they are suspended from the neck, often more than one, and sometimes they are so large that they form small breastplates. Laymen may have four or five strung on a sash which buckles over the shoulder. Smaller ones are occasionally fixed as an ornament on the top-knot of the hair. The people rest their faith implicitly on the efficacy of these charms, and may be seen to fondle them affectionately. The talismans are to them both mascots and fetishes.

LITERATURE.—S. W. Bnsell, *JRAS*, 1880, p. 436 ff.; A. Csoma Körösi, *JRAS* ix. 905; W. W. Rockhill, *Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet*, Washington, 1895; E. Schlagintweit, *Buddhism in Tibet*, Leipzig, 1863, Eng. tr. 1881, p. 174 ff.; L. A. Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, London, 1904, pp. 8, 1731, 268, 471, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, pp. 387-419, 570-572, and 'Ancient Indian Charms, from the Tibetan,' in *JAI* xiv. 41. L. A. WADDELL.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Vedic).—Current English usage, restricting 'amulet' to the meaning of a talisman attached to the human body, although probably based in part on a false etymology (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Encyc.* i. 1984), is of service in the study of Vedic magic, because the use of such amulets is there so frequent that the ideas connected with them must have presented themselves to the mind of a Vedic Hindu as a separate group. The designation of this group was *maṇi*, a word exactly equivalent in meaning to 'amulet' as defined above, except for the fact that it is also employed in the broader sense of 'ornament.' Etymologically *maṇi* is connected with Latin *monile*, 'necklace,' and in the parent word we may see the designation of the neck-ornaments of the pre-historic period, which were undoubtedly intended for magic rather than for ornamental purposes (cf. Schrader, *Reallex. der indogerman. Altertumskunde*, 1901, s.v. 'Schmuck'). A synonym for *maṇi* is *pratisara*, which in the Atharva literature, however, always designates the amulet that turns the spells of a sorcerer against himself, in accordance with its etymology, 'going against,' 'counter-magic.'

i. SOURCES.—The use of amulets is not confined to the Atharva; but, as the fullest picture of the Indian use of such charms is contained in the works of that school, it seems best to present first the practices of the Atharva priests, and afterwards supplement this treatment by the statements from other sources.

1. Amulets in the Atharva-Veda.—The Atharva-Veda Saṁhitā itself comprises a number of hymns which more or less avowedly betray the fact that they were intended to accompany operations in which amulets were the chief factor. Such are especially the hymns that contain invocations of amulets or praises of them (i. 29, ii. 4, 11, iii. 5, 9, iv. 10, viii. 5, 7, x. 6, xix. 28, 30, 31, 33, 36, 46). In other cases incidental statements reveal the same fact (i. 35. 1: 'The gold which the kindly Dākṣāyaṇas bound on Śatānika, that do I bind on thee, that thou mayest have long life, lustre, strength, long life of a hundred autumns'). In ii. 9. 1 we have the invocation of a being made of ten trees (*daśavṛkṣa*), which is manifestly an

amulet. ii. 27 is the invocation of a plant, but the third stanza shows one method of its use by saying, 'Indra placed thee upon his arm in order to overthrow the Asuras.' Other examples are iv. 9, v. 28, vi. 81, xi. 4, 26, xix. 26, 32, 34, 35. The ritual literature, in its description of the ceremonies at which these hymns are employed, invariably bears out these indications, and prescribes, besides, similar practices in connexion with i. 1, 2, 3, 9, 22, 34, ii. 3, 7, 8, 9, 11, 27, iii. 6, 7, 21, 22, iv. 37, v. 1, 7, 13, 11, 23, 1, vi. 4, 11, 15, 38, 39, 43, 72, 85, 90, 91, 101, 142, vii. 6, 43, 56, 76, 82, viii. 2, x. 6, xix. 27, 29, 37, 44, 45. In most of these cases the internal evidence of the hymns, by their resemblance to those of the previous classes, supports the ritualistic tradition.

(a) *Theory of the efficacy of the amulet.*—Upon this point we are but badly informed, as the ritual texts merely state the material of which the amulet is to be made, the occasion on which it is to be used, and the hymn with which it is to be fastened on; while the hymns are much more concerned in their vague rodomontades with the wonders which the amulet will achieve than with the method by which it will effect them. The crudest view is perhaps that the amulet contains a being of supernatural power who works on behalf of its possessor. According to Oldenberg (*Religion des Veda*, 1894, p. 514), this view in all its crudeness is not found in the Veda. Nor is this gainsaid by the fact that the Atharvan frequently speaks of the amulet itself as if it were a living thing. So in iv. 10. 7, in praising an amulet of pearl: 'The bone of the gods turned into pearl; that, animated, dwells in the waters'; in xix. 34. 1: 'Thou art an Angiras' (a semi-divine being); and in the same hymn it is said that the gods thrice begot the amulet, with which is to be compared the 'god-born' amulet of x. 6. 31. In xix. 33, *deva* (god) is applied to the amulet as an epithet; cf. xix. 34. 6, vi. 142. 2, and note that in viii. 2. 28, an amulet is styled 'the body of Agni.' In two hymns it is spoken of as a man, as a hero (*vīra*): 'This attacking talisman, (itself) a man, is fastened upon the man . . . as a man it advances against sorceries and destroys them' (viii. 5. 1-2, cf. iii. 5. 8). Note also that it has a thousand eyes with which it is invoked watchfully to destroy enemies (xix. 35. 3), or two horns (xix. 36. 2), with which it pierces demons. It dwells in the house like a guest, and its actions are compared with those of a seer (viii. 5. 8), or of Indra (x. 3. 11, xix. 28. 3). Frequently it is directly invoked to accomplish the desired object, thus xix. 28 and 29 are made up of verses of the type: 'O *darbha*-grass, pierce my rivals, pierce my foemen, pierce all my enemies, pierce them that hate me, O amulet—the changes being rung on 'cut,' 'split,' 'crush,' 'grind,' 'burn,' 'slay,' and other unpleasant imperatives; cf. also ii. 11. Such passages, however, must not be taken too seriously. In reality they are nothing but a result of the readiness to see life in everything, combined with the Atharvan tendency to elevate in the most extravagant fashion the various portions of its ritualistic apparatus (for similar tendencies, cf. Bloomfield, *The Atharva-Veda*, 1897, p. 87).

In a soberer vein the Atharvan looks upon an amulet as a weapon or an instrument in the hands of the sorcerer, *ṛṣi*, or god; cf. i. 29; ii. 4. 4; iv. 10. 2, 3; viii. 5. 3, 5, 6; x. 3. 2, 6, 9, 12, 13; or as an armour for its wearer, cf. viii. 5. 7, 10, 14. In this sense may be understood the statements that it will protect on all sides (ii. 4. 2), or from straits or the missiles of the gods and Asuras (iv. 10. 5); that it will beat off sorceries (viii. 5); that it will ward off or protect from various dangers (x. 3. 4 ff.); and even the frequent state-

ment that it will prolong life may in part belong to the same category.

These metaphors, however, are the expressions of a more advanced stage of belief. The primitive idea on which the use of amulets was based is that all qualities can be transferred by contact—an undue generalization from certain familiar facts of experience—combined with the further principle of magic that the part may be substituted for the whole, or the symbol for the thing symbolized. This idea may still be seen governing the choice of the material of which amulets are made (cf. below), and is clearly expressed in viii. 5. 11-12: 'Thou art the highest of plants, as it were a bull among moving creatures, a tiger as it were among wild beasts. He in truth becomes a tiger, likewise a lion, and also an uprooter of enemies who wears this amulet.'

The Vedic practices, however, have advanced beyond this simplest form of belief. This advance is shown in the attributing to the amulet of secondary effects in addition to that which, on the above principle, it was primarily intended to produce. This is due to the fact that one blessing frequently implies another; so, *e.g.*, an amulet that bestows long life must guard its wearer from diseases and demons, from the charms of hostile sorcerers, and from the attacks of human enemies, and thus bestow the prosperity without which long life would be unendurable. Another evidence is the complicated structure of some amulets (cf. below), due partly to the wish to secure several objects at the same time, and partly to the effort to take every chance for success. Finally, and most important, is the effort to reinforce by ceremony and spell the effect which the amulet was originally supposed to produce by natural means. Every investiture with an amulet involved an elaborate religious, or at least quasi-religious, ceremony (cf. below), and the hymns themselves show the same tendency by frequently ascribing to the amulets a superhuman origin, or by recounting the wonderful achievements which the gods accomplished with them. The extreme of such tales may be seen in x. 6. 6-22; but viii. 5 also furnishes abundant illustration; cf. also i. 29, 35, ii. 27, iii. 5, vi. 81. 3, xix. 30, 34, 35. Note also how the hymns mingle prayers to different deities with invocation and laudations of the amulets, or in some cases, *e.g.* vii. 6, 82, are apparently nothing but prayers. In short, we have not merely sympathetic magic, but magic in the guise of religion.

(b) *The tying on of the amulet.*—This in itself is a ceremony of some elaboration. From the general rules (*paribhāṣas*) of the Kauśika Sūtra, 7. 15-21, we learn that the amulet is first steeped for three days in a mixture of curds and honey, an oblation of *ghī* (*ājya*) is next made by the priest while reciting the required hymn, and, while the person who has the ceremony performed (*kārayitr*) stands behind him and touches him with blades of *darbha*-grass, the leavings of the oblation are put upon the amulet, and the amulet is blessed with the hymn, the *kārayitr* standing as before. The priest then ties the amulet upon the *kārayitr* (generally upon his neck, in one case upon his finger, while bracelets and earrings also serve as amulets), and gives him the curds and honey to eat.

The elaborateness of the ceremony is greatly increased, if with Caland we understand that the whole performance is to be included in that of the New and Full Moon sacrifice. To this view a certain support is given by the precept that the steeping of the amulet shall begin on the thirteenth day of the half month, but it leads to doubtful consequences (if strictly applied), inasmuch as it is difficult to understand how the *kārayitr* could in cases of pressing need wait for the change of the moon. The question, however, involves other magic practices, and accordingly will be discussed under *Maṛic*.

Frequently the tying on of an amulet is but one of a series of magic rites (cf. Kauśika, 11. 19-20;

13. 46; 25. 6, 10; 26. 16, 43; 27. 5, 29; 28. 20; 29. 14; 35. 10; 38. 20-21; 39. 1; 43. 1, 16; 48. 3, 24), or it enters into a ceremony of a more strictly religious nature, e.g. at the *medhājanana*, a ceremony to produce wisdom (10. 2); at the *nāmakarana*, naming of a child (58. 15); at the *upanayana*, initiation of a youth into the Brāhmanical community (58. 8); at the wedding ceremony (76. 8); and at the *mahāsānti*, a ceremony to avert evil portended by prodigies, a different amulet being prescribed in the 19th section of the *Sāntikalpa* for each of its thirty forms.

(c) *Materials employed and objects to be gained.*—

(1) The vegetable kingdom furnishes the greater portion of the amulets, and these produce a wide variety of effects. The symbolism intended often remains obscure, especially when, as is sometimes the case, it is impossible to identify the plant. To obtain long life are employed amulets of the *pitadāru*-tree, *Pinus deodora* (Kaus. 58. 15; Sānt. 19), or of rice and barley (Sānt. 19). For the closely allied wish of prosperity we find in use amulets of *parṇa*-wood, *Butea frondosa* (Kaus. 19. 22), a tree of peculiar sanctity, to which the myths ascribe a heavenly origin; of *talāśa*-wood (Kaus. 19. 26), an unknown plant which perhaps owes its auspicious properties simply to the assonance of its name with *palāśa*, a synonym of *parṇa* (the hymn vi. 15 points rather to the subjection of enemies than to the attainment of prosperity which the ritual states is the purpose); of barley (Kaus. 19. 27); of the *śrāktya*-tree, *Clerodendrum phlomoides*; of the *varana*-tree, *Crataeva Roxburghii*; and of the *khadira*-tree, *Acacia catechu* (19. 22). The last three trees are employed largely on account of their names, which are connected by popular etymology with the roots *var*, 'to ward off,' and *khād*, 'to chew,' while *śrāktya* as an epithet of an amulet would mean both 'made from the *śrāktya*-tree' and 'bristling.' Victor Henry's suggestion that the latter was the primary meaning, and that the amulet was shaped like a six-pointed star, is most attractive. Whether Kaus. 11. 19; 52. 20 means an amulet made of two *kṛṣṇala*-berries (*Abrus precatorius*, Linn.) or their weight in gold is doubtful; the hymns and commentators both favour the latter alternative.

Against diseases in general are employed: in Kaus. 26. 37, a *varana*-amulet (*Dārila* limits the purpose to the cure of consumption, but both the hymn and Keśava indicate a wider scope); in 28. 20, an amulet of barley; in 26. 40, an amulet made of chips from ten different kinds of holy trees, glued together and wrapped with gold wire; cf. also 13. 5, where the same amulet bestows lustre. More interesting are the amulets employed for the cure of particular diseases: in 25. 6, for the cure of excessive discharges, the head of a stalk of *mūñja*-reed, *Saccharum munja*, with a string derived, according to the commentators, from the same plant; in 25. 10, for constipation or retention of urine, substances promoting micturition (the commentators cite as examples gall-nuts or camphor); in 26. 43, for the cure of hereditary disease, *kṣetriya*, one sews together in the skin of a freshly-slain animal powder of a plant supposed to destroy the *kṣetriya*, brown barley with white stalks, blossoms of sesame, mud, and mud from an ant-hill, and binds it on the patient; in 32. 13, three pieces of fallen bark of the *virīṇa*-tree, *Andropogon muricatus*, form one of the amulets for the cure of *jāyānya*, syphilis (?); in 29. 14, the *alābu*-plant, *Lagenaria vulgaris*, is employed against the poison of serpents. According to Keśava, on 29. 20, a root of reed grass (*Capparis aphylla*, Roxburgh) is employed as an amulet against worms in a child; the *Kausika* itself, however, speaks only of an oblation of this substance.

Against disease conceived as due to possession by demons is employed, in Kaus. 27. 5, the amulet of splinters from ten holy trees; in 26. 35, a barley amulet is employed in case of danger from (disease-producing) demons, curses, or the evil eye—at least such is the interpretation given by the commentators (cf. Bloomfield, p. 285) to the word *mantrokta* 'mentioned in the hymn'; but the word 'barley' does not occur in the hymn, and the *Sāntikalpa* sees in *sahasrakāṇḍa*, 'having a thousand shoots,' of stanza 3 the most characteristic designation of the plant. Demons are slain in Kaus. 42. 23 with an amulet of the *jaṅgida*-tree (*Terminalia arjuna*), the string of which must be of hemp; and in 43. 1, with an amulet of the *aralu*-tree (*Colosanthus indica*), the thread must be reddish; in 35. 20, they are kept from a pregnant woman by means of white and yellow mustard. Sorcery is repelled in 39. 1 with the *śrāktya*-amulet, and in 48. 24 by a *tārchha*-amulet, the commentators disagreeing as to whether this is of bone or *palāśa*-wood. An amulet of the last-named wood is prescribed in 43. 16 when a person is believed to be plagued by the presence in his house-fire of *kravyād agni*, the flesh-devouring Agni of the funeral fire. For triumph over human enemies is ordained in 48. 3, with transparent symbolism, an amulet made from an *āsvattha*-tree (*Ficus religiosa*) that grows upon a *khadira*-tree (*Acacia catechu*); for success in debate, the root of the *pātā*-plant (*Clypea hernandifolia*) is employed in 38. 20.

At the wedding ceremony (76. 8) the bridegroom ties on his little finger an amulet of liquorice to make himself agreeable to the bride; the string must be coloured red with lac, and the knot made on the inside of the hand. An amulet of *darbhaga*-grass is employed in 36. 32, according to Keśava, in order to appease the wrath of a woman, and in 40. 16 to promote virility an amulet of *arka*-wood (*Calotropis gigantea*) with a thread derived from the same tree.

To this list of substances from the vegetable kingdom, the *Sāntikalpa* adds amulets of *udumbara*-wood (*Ficus glomerata*), of the *ajāśṛṅgi*-plant (*Odina pinnata*), and perhaps of the *śatāvārī*-plant (*Asparagus racemosus*).

(2) The animal kingdom is not nearly so well represented. We have already met the use of the skin of a freshly-slain animal as the covering for mud, and certain plants in a charm for the cure of *kṣetriya* (Kaus. 26. 43, where Caland is of the opinion that the plants constitute a separate amulet); the same amulet without the plants serves in 32. 6 to cure the poison of serpents, scorpions, and insects. *Kṣetriya* is also attacked (27. 29) by an amulet consisting of the horn of an antelope, the efficacy of which depends upon the pun between *viśāṇa*, 'horn,' and *vi śyati*, 'he loosens.' For the cure of jaundice and related diseases, Kaus. 26. 16 employs an amulet made of the part of the hide of a red bull which was pierced by a peg when it was spread out for a seat, the desire of the operator being to fasten upon the patient a healthy redness. Most characteristic is the amulet employed (10. 2) at the *medhājanana* (ceremony to produce wisdom); it is constructed with evident symbolism from the tongues of three birds—the parrot, a certain species of crow (*sārika*), and a lark (*kṛśa*). Long life is sought (13. 1-3) with an amulet of ivory and elephant's hair wrapped with gold wire; or, instead (13. 4), the amulet may consist of hairs from the navel of a *snātaka*, a lion, a tiger, a goat, a ram, a steer, and a king, all pasted together and wrapped with gold wire. The same purpose is effected in 58. 9 by means of a pearl shell. An amulet of the skin of a black antelope, fastened on with hairs from its tail, is employed in 40. 17 to promote virility, and

one made from the wool of a male animal wrapped round pieces of *Prosopis spicijera* and *Ficus religiosa* is supposed (35. 10) to secure the birth of a male child. There is also the possibility mentioned above that the *tārchha*-amulet is of bone.

(3) Objects from the mineral kingdom are only rarely used in their natural condition. The employment of mud has already been mentioned, as has also the possibility that the weight in gold of two *kṛṣṇala*-berries is intended, not the berries themselves; likewise the fact that gold wire was employed to bind various substances together. Apart from these instances there occurs only the triple amulet of Athar. Ved. v. 28, probably identical with the unconquerable (*astṛta*) amulet of xix. 46, consisting of three pieces of gold, three of silver, and three of iron, employed to obtain long life in Kauś. 58. 10, and for a variety of purposes in the Śāntikalpa.

(4) Finally, there may be classed together a number of amulets made from manufactured objects, or in which the shape given to the material is significant. To secure victory for a king, the amulet is made (Kauś. 18. 29) from the felloe of a chariot wheel encased in iron, lead, copper, silver, or red copper, the centre of the case being of gold. Salve is employed as an amulet (58. 8) to secure long life. A spear-point furnishes (31. 7) an amulet against various sharp pains ascribed to the missiles of Rudra; and *jāyānya* (syphilis?) is healed in 32. 11 by tying on part of a lute by means of one of its strings, the instrument taking the place of the woman who played it, and the treatment being on homœopathic principles. In 23. 10 one who is about to divide an inherited estate ties on a bowstring as an amulet. In 35. 11 a bracelet is employed to ensure conception, but whether it is put on in the usual fashion, or tied around the neck as amulets usually are, is not clear. The Śāntikalpa 19 employs gold earrings, put on in the usual method, at the *āgneyi śānti*, i.e. when there is danger of fire, or for one who desires all blessings. An amulet in the shape of a ship ensures a safe voyage (Kauś. 52. 11). The head of an axe, or an amulet in the shape of an axe, and made of *palāśa*-wood, iron, red copper, or gold is employed in 46. 2-3 to restore an unjustly slandered man to honour. Prosperity is secured in 19. 23 by an amulet consisting of four pieces of *khadira*-wood, each made in the shape of a plough and put upon the string in a peculiar fashion.

2. Amulets in other branches of Vedic literature.—In passages in which there is simply an allusion to a *maṇi*, it is frequently impossible to determine whether an amulet or an ornament, a jewel, is meant; but for the period in question the two ideas must have been at least nearly synonymous. So in Rig-Veda, i. 33. 8 (the only occurrence of the word in the Rig-Veda), Indra is said to have vanquished the Dasyus 'adorned with golden *maṇis*,' i.e. in spite of the magical assistance of their amulets. Compare the taking away of ornaments or amulets from the Asuras accomplished by certain methods of sacrificial technique in Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, 4. 6, and note that the night-walking demons of Hiranyakeśin (*Gṛhya Sūtras* [HGS.], 2. 3. 7), and the demon of disease (*ib.* 2. 7. 2) wore ornaments, undoubtedly of magic power. Other passages that may be cited are Vājasaneyi Samhitā, 24. 3, 30. 7; Pāñchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, 20. 16. 6; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 12. 3. 4. 2; Chhândogya Upaniṣad, 6. 1. 5; but in *pratisara* of Sat. Brāh. 5. 2. 4, 20. 7. 1. 33, the present writer can see no allusion to an amulet, the word having the more general sense of 'counter-charm.'

A clear example, however, is found in Vāj. Samh. 34. 50-52, the hymn for the putting on of the

golden *dakṣaṇa* amulet, elaborated in Athar. Ved. 1. 35, and recurring in Rig-Veda *Khilāni*, 10. 128; cf. Vāj. Samh. 19. 80. An amulet is mentioned in the *anubhūnāmukā mantrāḥ* (Taittiriya Samhitā, 7. 3. 14. 1). At the *akṛamedha* (horse sacrifice), Kātyāyana (*Śrauta Sūtra*, 20. 5. 16) directs that each of three wives of the king shall weave securely into the mane and tail of the horse a hundred and one golden amulets, which Sat. Brāh. 13. 2. 6. 8 interprets as symbolical of the king and the hundred years of life he wishes to attain.

In the *Gṛhya Sūtras* [GS.], the practice, as was to be expected, is better represented, though still without reaching the prominence attained in the Atharva. Differences are observable between the different Sūtras, but appear to rest more upon different degrees of minuteness in reporting details, than upon actual differences in the prevalence of the practices.

In the widest sense of the word the different parts of the costume of the *brahmachārin*, especially his girdle and cord, may be considered as amulets; at any rate they are handled in accordance with such magic potency. The verses with which, in HGS. 1. 4. 2, the new garment is put on the pupil at his initiation, are comparable in tone to a charm of the Atharvan to secure long life. The staff, too, must be carefully guarded, and in particular no person must be allowed to come between it and its bearer; and when the girdle is worn out a ceremony is necessary before it can be replaced. That golden ornaments have a magic power (an idea already alluded to) is shown by the formula employed at the wedding ceremony (Gobhila GS. [GGS.] 2. 2. 14; Khādīra GS. 1. 3. 27; Mantra Brāhmaṇa, 1. 1. 8; cf. 1. 3. 8-11, 'Auspicious ornaments this woman wears'); and by the direction that a woman must wear them at the times when she is peculiarly exposed to the attacks of demons, thus during the three nights after her wedding (HGS. 1. 23. 10), and after her courses (*ib.* 1. 24. 8)—times when for the same reason chastity is prescribed. In line with this is the wearing of gold ornaments at the *śimantonmaya* (the parting of the hair of a pregnant woman to secure easy child-birth), prescribed by HGS. 2. 1. 3, and permitted by Śāṅkhāyana GS. [SGS.] 1. 22. 17; and the direction, in GGS. 2. 10. 7, HGS. 1. 1. 7, to deck the youth with golden ornaments before his initiation, religious ceremonies being of a peculiar magical and *ipso facto* dangerous potency. Compare also the tying on of an ornament with the formula prescribed in Mānava GS. 1. 9. 24, as part of the *arghya*-ceremony (reception of a guest).

In addition to these, there are a number of more special cases. At the wedding ceremony the bridegroom gives to the bride a porcupine quill and a string twisted of three threads; her relatives tie on her a red and black woollen or linen cord with three gems, and the bridegroom *madhūka*-flowers (word-symbolism); cf. SGS. 1. 12. 6, 8, 9. According to the same Sūtra (1. 22. 8-10), the father at the *śimantonmaya* ties to the mother's neck, with a string twisted from three threads, three unripe fruits of an *udumbara*-tree; cf. Pāraskara GS. 1. 15. 6; GGS. 2. 7. 4, and the similar proceedings at the *pūṃsavana* (ceremony to secure the birth of a male child), MGS. 1. 16. At the *jātakarman*, (ceremony on the birth of a child) SGS. 1. 24. 11-14 directs that a piece of gold be bound with a hemp string to the child's right hand. There it remains during the time of the mother's impurity, after which it is given to the Brāhman, or may be retained by the father. The intention is evidently to furnish the child with a means of defence against the demons supposed to be hovering about the mother at that time.

the *samāvartana* (the ceremony at the close of study, when the pupil is about to leave his teacher's house) various amulets are employed. The use of earrings is clearly attested; jewellery, gold, or an amulet made of a perforated piece of sandal wood or *badari*-wood overlaid with gold is used, or an amulet of this wood in conjunction with another amulet of gold; cf. for details Āśvalāyana GS. 3. 8. 10, 21; SGS. 3. 1. 7; PGS. 2. 6. 24, 26; HGS. 1. 10. 6-11. 3; Āpastambīya GS. 5. 12. 8ff.; MGS. 1. 2. 14. Finally, GGS. 3. 8. 6, directs that after the *prṣātaka* the sacrificer and his family should tie on amulets of lac together with all sorts of herbs; and Āp. GS. 3. 9. 5-7, has a ceremony of a highly magic flavour, in which a wife binds to her hands the root of a *pātā*-plant (*Clypea hermandifolia*) in such a way that her husband cannot see it and then embraces him, her purpose being to make him subject to her. The unpublished Bāudhāyana GS. is said to make frequent mention of amulets.

Among later texts the Adbhūta Brāhmaṇa, 2. 6, includes in its list of portents the breaking of an amulet. The Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa also prescribes a number of amulets, and the method of their application is a complicated series of ceremonies, practically identical in all cases, which constitute a technique as characteristic of this school as the ceremonies previously described are of the Atharvan. The performer fasts for three days, selected in such a way that the beginning of the ceremony itself shall fall on an auspicious day. He then gathers the material required, and on the same day makes of it a triple amulet, brings it to the fire, and makes an offering without a *mantra*; he then lays the amulet down near the fire and makes a thousand, or at least one hundred, oblations accompanied by the singing of a specified *sāman*. He then wears the amulet on his neck or head, and regularly sings a specified *sāman*.

The materials thus employed and the purposes accomplished are: *bilva*-wood to drive away demons (Svidh. 2. 2. 2); the fuel must be from a tree that was struck by lightning, and the butter for the oblations from a white cow with a calf of the same colour; *Andropogon aciculatus* and *Sarpasugandhā* ('snake-perfume') to guard against snakes (2. 3. 3); white blooming *Solanum* to guard against danger from weapons (2. 3. 4); white blooming *Calatropis gigantea*; according to the *sāman* employed its wearer will be rich in food, will have food everywhere, will not die of thirst, will not die in water, will not have leprosy, or will not die of poison (2. 3. 5-10); violet-roots for success in debate (2. 7. 12); the first *udāṅga*-branch to get a hundred slaves (2. 8. 5); a ring of copper, silver, gold, or iron, to repel sorcery; in this case the ring must be worn on the right hand, and there is no prescription of a silent offering or the singing of the *sāman* afterwards (3. 5. 7). In one case the proceeding is somewhat elaborated. If the children of one's wife die young, the amulet is made from the sheaths of the buds of the *Ficus indica*. The amulet is treated as before, but the wife wears it in her girdle until she (shortly) bears a son, when it is put on his neck. Theavings of the butter of the oblations have been saved, are given to the child to eat, and are rubbed each day on all the openings of his body, the supply being renewed when necessary. The consequence is that the boy lives to be a hundred years old without suffering from the infirmities of old age (2. 2. 1).

ii. HISTORY OF THE AMULET IN INDIA.—The material collected is sufficient to show that the wearing of amulets, a pre-historic custom, was practised familiarly and without disapproval among the adherents of all Vedic schools. How far their use is brought to the front, how far it is passed

over in silence, depend chiefly upon the character and purpose of a text. Works dealing with the ritual of the great *Śrauta*-sacrifices naturally make but rare and incidental mention of them; hence to infer from the silence of the Rig-Veda that amulets were unknown at the time of the composition of its hymns would be to shut one's eyes to the one-sided nature of that collection. In the humbler *Grhya*-sacrifices amulets come more to the front, in spite of the fact that these, too, have lost much of their popular nature in coming under priestly control. Finally, as was to be expected, it is in the Atharva, that great document of the popular side of religion, whose aim is to secure the immediate fulfilment of each and every want, that we find the most abundant employment of amulets. Already in the hymns of the Atharvan we find the fundamental ideas connected with the amulet fully developed. Whether the ritual familiar to the authors of the hymns was identical with that known to us from the Kausika we cannot fully determine (cf. MAOIC). But at the most we have between the Atharvan Samhitā and the Kausika only new applications of old ideas, and perhaps an increasing complexity of ritual technique. It is a noteworthy fact that, in spite of the centuries between them, the Śāntikalpa in its manipulation of amulets is upon essentially the same basis as the Kausika, thus showing the steadfastness of the tradition of the ritual when once established.

LITERATURE.—There is no connected treatment of the subject, but incidental mention of it is made in the works on Vedic religion (wh. see), and especially in the works on the Atharva-Veda. Cf. also MAGIC [Vedic].

G. M. BOLLING.

CHARTISM.—I. Demands of the Chartists.—

The Chartist movement played the most important part in working-class annals between 1837 and 1842, and it did not finally leave the stage until 1848. Political reform was the direct object of the movement, but it was social in its origin and in its ultimate aims. The National Charter, drafted by Francis Place from materials supplied by William Lovett, embodied in the form of a bill the demand of its supporters. The six main points, none of them novel, were: (1) adult male suffrage, (2) vote by ballot, (3) annual parliaments, (4) abolition of the property qualification for members of the House of Commons, (5) payment of members, and (6) equal electoral districts.

2. Origin in economic conditions of the time.—Driving power for agitation was found in the economic conditions of the time, which occasioned among the working classes a sullen discontent with their lot. Wide-spread commercial and industrial depression marked the period 1837-42, in which are recorded two of the leanest harvests of the century, and a severe financial crisis. A vast amount of speculation in railways, mines, canals, and joint-stock banks, together with an unchecked expansion of credit, had characterized the prosperous years 1833-36. The bad harvest of 1837, causing a large export of gold in payment for imported wheat, combined with calls for gold from America and the Continent, shook the unwieldy credit superstructure, and precipitated a crisis which almost ruined the Bank of England, and forced seventy-three joint-stock banks to stop payment. Paralysis of enterprise naturally followed the crash, and the stagnation of business resulted in a large amount of unemployment. In those days anticipation of demand in the ever-widening market for which Great Britain produced was almost impossible. Convulsive fluctuations in commerce were common, and, while this ebb and flow of trade made the lot of the worker unstable, 'The huge demon of Mechanism smokes and thunders . . .